

THE
S P E E C H
OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN, EARL OF CLARE,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND.

4
J. Williams

THE

S P E E C H

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, EARL OF CLARE,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS OF IRELAND,

ON A MOTION MADE BY THE

EARL OF MOIRA,

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1798,

" THAT AN HUMBLE ADDRESS BE PRESENTED TO HIS EXCELLENCY
" THE LORD LIEUTENANT, TO STATE, THAT AS PARLIAMENT HAD
" CONFIDED TO HIS EXCELLENCY EXTRAORDINARY POWERS IN
" ORDER TO SUPPORT THE LAWS AND DEFEAT TRAITOROUS
" COMBINATIONS IN THIS COUNTRY, WE FEEL IT OUR DUTY—AS
" THOSE POWERS HAVE NOT PRODUCED THE DESIRED EFFECT—TO
" RECOMMEND THE ADOPTION OF SUCH CONCILIATORY MEASURES
" AS MAY ALLAY APPREHENSIONS AND DISCONTENT."

FOURTH EDITION.

By Authority.



D U B L I N:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, N^o 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1798.

07.3011



LORD CHANCELLOR'S

S P E E C H.

MY LORDS!

I AM happy to have an opportunity of discussing this subject with the noble Lord in this assembly; I know of none on which there has been such a series of studied and persevering misrepresentation; and certainly very liberal contributions have been made to the Common stock, under the sanction and authority of the noble Earl's name. If we are to believe reports apparently well authenticated, which have been nearly avowed this night on his part, the noble Earl has twice brought forward this subject in the British House of Lords. His first proposition to that grave assembly was, to address his Majesty to interpose his gracious and paternal interference to allay the discontents subsisting in the kingdom of Ireland, which threatened the dearest interests of the British empire. One principal source of Irish discontent he stated to be, that the Irish Catholics insisted on their right of sitting in both Houses of Parliament, from which they are precluded by the statute law of Ireland. Another cause of offence to the people, the noble Lord stated to be, that a Member of the Irish House of Commons had, uninvited and without any apparent necessity, started up in a debate and pronounced an absolute interdiction on the hopes and pretensions of Irish Catholics: That another member in the other House of Parliament had equally uninvited and without necessity, started up in *his* place, and pronounced a sweeping condemnation on the North of Ireland. I will not take upon me to say what might have passed in the House of Commons; but I do, with perfect confidence, assure the noble

B

Lord,

Lord, that nothing has passed in this House since I have had the honour of sitting in it, which can give a shade of justice to an imputation thus cast on one of its Members. The noble Earl, if we are to credit written and verbal reports, for the authenticity of which I can in some sort vouch, has recently again brought forward the same subject in the same assembly, when without making a distinct proposition upon it, *he* certainly did in the acceptance of plain understandings pronounce a sweeping condemnation upon every department of the state, civil and military, in the kingdom of Ireland; when *he* did in the acceptance of plain understandings represent the executive government as acting wantonly on a system of insult and barbarity against an innocent and unoffending people, and the army of Ireland as active instruments in carrying it into rigorous and unrelenting execution. And let me here with the unfeigned respect which I feel for the name and character of a liberal and high-minded gentleman, and a gallant soldier, put it to the noble Lord's good sense on cool and mature reflection, upon what principle *he* could feel himself justified in passing by this House of Parliament, of which he is a Member, and making an appeal to the British House of Lords, on a subject solely and exclusively cognizable by the Parliament of Ireland; let me put it to his good sense, upon what principle he could feel himself justified in pressing the British House of Lords to address his Majesty, to interpose the influence of the Crown to allay discontents in Ireland, which he stated to arise from the operation and effect of Irish statutes, an address of the British House of Lords to his Majesty, to interpose the influence of the Crown to procure a repeal of Irish statutes, of deep and momentous import to the constitution of Ireland. Let me put it to his good sense, if he has not been traduced, upon what principle he can justify a rash
and

and ill-advised assertion, that a member of this House had, uninvited and without necessity started up in his place, and pronounced a sweeping condemnation on the north of Ireland, and having made the assertion, urge it as a ground for an address of the British House of Lords to his Majesty, to interpose his authority against the effects of this assumed Parliamentary indiscretion in a peer of Ireland, or perhaps to prevent a repetition of it. And above all, upon what principle he could feel himself justified in a statement to the British House of Lords, that the executive Government of Ireland had taught the soldiery to consider and to treat the natives of this country indiscriminately as rebels, and under such a supposition, to goad them with wanton and unexampled insult and barbarity. That the obsolete feudal badge of servitude, the curfew, was now revived and established in all its rigour in Ireland, and enforced by the soldiery with unfeeling cruelty and insult. That the infamous and detestable principles and proceedings of the inquisition, had been introduced into Ireland, where the unhappy natives were put to the torture, to extort from them a confession of their own guilt or the guilt of others; where the unhappy natives were torn from their families and immured in prisons, ignorant of their accusers, and in a cruel state of uncertainty as to the period of their imprisonment, and the fate which awaited them. And that these complicated and unexampled excesses and extravagancies formed only a part of the system acted upon by the executive Government of Ireland, and encouraged by the British Cabinet. And these virulent and distorted exaggerations have passed into general circulation through the medium of every disaffected and seditious public print in Great Britain and Ireland, under the proffered solemnity of the noble Lord's oath. It remains for me publicly and distinctly to refute the foul and injurious charges of tyranny, injustice and oppression

oppression upon the people of Ireland which have been advanced against the British Cabinet and the British Nation, and against the Government and Parliament of Ireland; and in so doing, I shall give the best answer to every thing which has fallen from the noble Lord this night. It has long been the fashion of this country to drown the voice of truth and justice by noise and clamour and loud and confident assertion; and since the separation of America from the British empire, where the noble Lord well knows some British politicians had successfully played a game of embarrassment against Lord North's administration, they have been pleased to turn their attention to Ireland, as a theatre of political warfare, and to lend their best countenance and support to every motley faction, which has reared its head in this country, to disturb the public peace, for the most selfish and mischievous purposes. When the noble Lord recommends conciliation as a remedy for the turbulent and distracted state of this country, with all respect for him, I must conclude, that his information flows from this polluted source. If conciliation be a pledge of national tranquillity and contentment; if it be a spell to allay popular ferment, there is not a nation in Europe in which it has had so fair a trial as in the kingdom of Ireland. For a period nearly of twenty years, a liberal and unvaried system of concession and conciliation has been pursued and acted upon by the British Government. Concession and conciliation have produced only a fresh stock of grievances, and the discontents of Ireland have kept pace with her prosperity; for I am bold to say, there is not a nation on the habitable globe, which has advanced in cultivation and commerce, in agriculture and in manufactures, with the same rapidity, in the same period. Her progress is now retarded, and it is a heart-breaking spectacle to every man who loves the country, to see

see it arrested only by the perverse and factious folly of the people, stimulated and encouraged by disappointed statesmen, British as well as Irish. When the noble Lord talks of conciliation as the certain means of tranquilizing the country, I call upon him to say what security he can give us for the accomplishment of his presage. Does he speak from experience? Evidently not; experience is against him. When Lord North opened the trade of the British colonies and plantations to Ireland, Parliament declared itself fully gratified in terms of warm and affectionate satisfaction; and be it remembered, that some of the loudest modern declaimers in the British Parliament for Irish emancipation, did then oppose this first relaxation in the system of commercial restrictions, imposed by British statutes upon Ireland at the Revolution. In a few months however the voice of indignation and complaint was again heard in the Irish House of Commons, and although the encroachments on our constitution and its defects which were then complained of, were generally admitted to exist, a considerable majority in both Houses of Parliament thought it unwise and impolitic to bring them forward in terms of anger and apparent hostility to Great Britain, more especially at a time when she laboured under the pressure of an extensive and calamitous war. An appeal was then for the first time preferred from the decision of Parliament to the armed Majesty of the People, and without any form or solemnity of trial or deliberation, every gentleman of Ireland who hesitated to declare open war against the Parliament of Great Britain, was denounced as an enemy to his country, by that candid and august tribunal. However, on a change of administration in 1782, the British Government determined to accede to the demands of Ireland, and adopted a proceeding which, of all others, seemed to be the most flattering and conciliatory to the Parliament and People. The Duke of Portland,

land, by the King's command, sent down a message to both Houses of Parliament, "That his Majesty was concerned to find that discontents and jealousies prevailed amongst his loving subjects of Ireland on matters of great weight and importance, and recommending that the same might be taken into serious consideration, in order to such final adjustment as might give mutual satisfaction to Great Britain and Ireland." If ever there was a proceeding devised, which might afford a rational hope of quieting the apprehensions and relieving the exigencies of a distressed country, it was this appeal to their own testimony for a knowledge of their complaints, to desire them to come forward and to state the measure of their calamities, and the best expedient for the relief of them. And accordingly the measure of concession and conciliation, demanded of Great Britain, for the final adjustment of all political controversy between the two kingdoms, and for their mutual and lasting satisfaction, was framed on the declared sense of the Irish Opposition-Cabinet; for on looking into the Journals it will be found, that the addresses in answer to his Majesty's most gracious and conciliatory message, were moved and voted by way of amendment, proposed by the leaders of the popular cause in both Houses of Parliament: And the noblemen and gentlemen who undertook the office of pointing out the grievances of Ireland for a redress which was to lead to a final adjustment of all political divisions between this kingdom and Great Britain, confined them, "To the usurped claim of the British Parliament to make laws for Ireland: to the appellant jurisdiction exercised by the British House of Lords: to the practice of suppressing Bills in the Council of Ireland, or of altering them any where; and to a Perpetual Mutiny Law." In the progress of the same Session, a communication was made to both Houses of Parliament, in a speech from the Throne
by

by the Duke of Portland, " that the British Parliament had paid immediate attention to our representation, and that his Majesty would graciously give his Royal Assent to such Bills as might be necessary to give them full effect." To this communication, an answer was made by an Address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, and to the Duke of Portland. This Address was also framed by the Cabinet of Opposition. The noblemen and gentlemen who had originally taken upon them the office of pointing out the constitutional grievances of Ireland, were the movers of it, and did with peculiar eloquence express the acknowledgments of the Parliament and People of Ireland, for the prompt and dignified attention which had been paid to their representations. In the Address moved by them, and adopted by both Houses, they assured his Majesty, that " We were fully sensible of the magnanimity of his Majesty, and of the wisdom of his Parliament of Great Britain, in seconding his Majesty's most gracious intentions to this kingdom, without any stipulation or condition whatsoever, *and that his Majesty might have the firmest reliance upon the faith, generosity and honour of the Irish nation. That as it is their undoubted interest, so it is their warmest wish, to promote and perpetuate the harmony, stability and glory of the British empire; and that the same spirit which induced them to assert their right to share the freedom of Great Britain, will confirm them in a determination to share her fate also, standing and falling with the British nation.*" The Commons went a step beyond this House: they assured his Majesty, " *that from thenceforward no constitutional question could by possibility arise to interrupt the harmony so happily established between Great Britain and Ireland,*" and voted the enormous sum of fifty thousand pounds, out of the public purse, as a gratuity to the Gentleman who had thus pledged himself and pledged Parliament to a final settlement of constitutional

stitutional grievances between the two countries, a settlement so complete and satisfactory, as to render a revival of political or constitutional controversies utterly impossible. This Address was echoed with unbounded applause from end to end of the kingdom, and the founders of the new Irish Constitution, were, for the short period of a few weeks, the idols of the people. Unfortunately, in that short interval, all harmony was at an end. A Gentleman of distinguished ability discovered, that the simple repeal of a declaratory law, did not contain a renunciation of the principle which had been declared; from whence he argued, that our new Constitution was a bubble, that the Irish nation had been duped by the British Minister and Parliament, and that the noblemen and gentlemen who had undertaken Irish emancipation (it was at this period I think the phrase got into use) acquiescing in the deception, must be considered as accomplices in the treachery of Great Britain. To this abstract proposition, and to the inference drawn from it, immediate and general assent was given, and a gentleman who had been raised to the pinnacle of popular favour and applause, for acknowledged public services, instantly became the object of popular execration, and was loaded with foul and most unmerited calumny and abuse, for no other reason than his refusal to concur in committing the Parliament of this country in a quarrel with the British nation, upon this abstract rule of interpretation which was assumed to apply to all declaratory statutes, and to establish unequivocally the insincerity of Great Britain. It is not necessary now to examine the merits of the abstract legal question, but this I do not scruple to say, that nine hundred and ninety-nine men in one thousand, who so loudly condemned the act of Simple Repeal, were utterly incapable of forming an opinion on the subject; and that if from the same authority they had been told, that an act of renunciation

was

was an insult to the nation, inasmuch as it implied an existing principle to be renounced, the men who so loudly condemned a simple repeal, would have been equally noisy against renunciation. But I should have hoped that this gross and glaring instance of popular levity would have taught the sober part of the community, and more especially the gentlemen who had well nigh fallen victims to it, the imminent hazard of inflaming the popular mind upon abstract political topics, and of making appeals to the Majesty of the People, for the redress of speculative political grievances. At the same period the Majesty of the People was a second time affronted. We had in the warmth of our gratitude, and before the simple repeal bubble had been discovered, voted away almost every regiment of infantry on the Irish establishment, for the service of the Empire, inasmuch that there were not soldiers left in the country for common garrison duty. The Duke of Portland with no other possible view than to provide for the necessary service of the kingdom, on terms the most economical, raised four provincial regiments to be disbanded at the conclusion of the war. This was construed to be an insidious scheme of the British Government, to undermine the popular institution of Volunteers. If so many regiments of the line had been raised, and the establishment had been incumbered with half-pay for the officers, I presume the Majesty of the People would not have been offended; but a fencible regiment was new in Ireland, and without further enquiry or consideration, this necessary act of public duty, adopted by the Duke of Portland upon a mere principle of public economy, was generally and loudly condemned as a fresh instance of British insincerity. It happened soon after the Duke of Portland had quitted the Government of this kingdom, that the Judges of the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, gave their judgment upon a record removed by writ of error

brought there, from the King's Bench of Ireland; and no man who knows the law will say that they could have done otherwise. They found a record removed into their Court by authority of the King's writ, and finding it there, they could not avoid giving judgment upon it. This however raised a new ferment in Ireland, and this judicial act of Lord Mansfield and his brethren, was represented here as a direct violation of British faith, and an open and unequivocal attack upon the Irish Constitution. Lord Buckingham was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and although I was not then a servant of the Crown, having lived in early habits of friendship and intimacy with him, I can from my knowledge state, that with a firm conviction that Great Britain had always intended fully, fairly, and unequivocally to renounce all legislative and judicial authority over this country, he felt the warmest anxiety to satisfy the people of Ireland that their suspicions were unfounded; that whether the act by which the British Parliament yielded their legislative claims, was an act of simple repeal, or an act of renunciation, they might and ought to place full and firm confidence in the faith and honour of Great Britain as their best security; but it was stated to him that there were British statutes unrepealed made for the protection of trade, particularly to the East Indies, by which penalties were inflicted upon Irish subjects for breach of them committed in this country, and that suits for the recovery of these penalties were, by the same statutes, cognizable in the King's superior Courts at Westminster; and it was stated to him that the mere repeal of the declaratory act of the 6th Geo. I. would not be sufficient to bar any suit which might be so instituted, but that an act of renunciation would be construed by the English judges as a virtual repeal of all laws theretofore made which imported to bind Ireland. Lord Buckingham therefore plainly saw that such an act was necessary for the peace
of

of both countries, and warmly recommended to the British Government to have it proposed in Parliament. Accordingly a bill was introduced into the British House of Commons, I believe by his brother, now Lord Grenville, which passed into a law without opposition, renouncing in terms the most unequivocal all legislative or judicial authority in Ireland, declaring the right of the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by their Parliament, and barring all writs of error or appeals from judgments or decrees in Ireland, to any British judicature ; and I very much fear there are men in this country, who never have forgiven Lord Buckingham for the part which he took, in advising a measure so necessary to the peace of Great Britain and Ireland. It might reasonably have been expected that the people of Ireland, being gratified on the point of renunciation, would have taken breath, and suspended at least their constitutional labours. But the moment the act of renunciation was obtained, a new grievance occurred, and it was discovered that, in order to secure the new constitution of Ireland, it was necessary to alter the frame of the representative body by which in effect it had been established ; and the people being then self-arrayed and armed, after due deliberation, it was determined to elect a military convention to meet in the metropolis, as the surest, most efficacious, and constitutional organ, through which to convey the sense of the nation upon the subject of parliamentary reform. This Convention assembled with considerable military pomp and parade at the city of Dublin, and having assumed to itself all the forms and functions of a House of Parliament, a bill for the reform of the representation of the people was regularly presented, read a first and second time, committed, reported, and agreed to, and being engrossed, was sent at the point of the bayonet by two members of the Convention, who were also members
of

of the House of Commons, to be registered by that assembly. The House of Commons treated this insult with the indignant contempt which it merited, and the men who had been betrayed into such an act of contumacious folly, awed by the rebuke which they received from the House of Commons, and by the firmness of Lord Northington, dispersed and returned to the places from whence they had come, many of them much ashamed of their rashness and intemperance. And be it also remembered, that one of the loudest modern declaimers in the British Parliament for Irish emancipation, was then a Cabinet Minister of Great Britain, and that he did *then*, with all the energy and ability which distinguish him, most emphatically state his opinion to Lord Northington, that the existence of legitimate government in Ireland, depended on the dispersion of this Convention, and that her connection with the British Crown depended on preserving the frame of the Irish House of Commons as it then stood, unaltered and unimpaired. After the dispersion of this Military Convention, we had a short respite from popular ferment on the ground of constitutional grievances, but a new topic of discontent was started. It was discovered that the manufactures of Great Britain were imported into this country upon terms which gave them a preference in the Irish market,—a preference by the way which superior excellence alone can give them,—and the remedy proposed for this grievance was, that we should commence a war of prohibitory duties, although it was notorious that the balance of trade between Great Britain and Ireland was very considerably in our favour, and that if the Parliament of Ireland had been so infatuated as to yield to popular outcry upon this subject, we had not the means of manufacturing woollen cloth in this country, nearly sufficient for the use

use of its inhabitants. The discussion of this question, however, led to the memorable treaty in 1785, if I may so call it, between the Parliaments of both countries, for a final adjustment of the commercial intercourse between this country and Great Britain, and the British colonies and plantations, when a fair and liberal offer was made by Great Britain to open her markets, and to share her capital with this country; to give to Ireland a perpetual right of trading with her colonies and plantations upon the terms only of our adopting the laws which she enacts for regulating her navigation and trade with them. This offer was wisely rejected by the Irish House of Commons, under a silly deception put upon the people of Ireland, who were taught to believe, that the offer thus made to them was an insidious artifice of the British Minister to revive the legislative authority of the British Parliament, which had been so recently and unequivocally renounced; and under this gross and palpable deception, were the solid interests of Great Britain and Ireland, their mutual peace and harmony, and indissoluble connection sacrificed in the House of Commons of Ireland, on the altar of British and Irish faction. If any thing could have opened the eyes of the nation, what passed within two Sessions from 1785, ought to have exposed the duplicity practised upon them at that period. In the interval, Great Britain thought it necessary to extend the principle of her navigation acts to ships British and Irish built; and in 1787, the Parliament of Ireland did without hesitation adopt this new act of navigation, and declared all the former British acts of navigation to be of force in this country, a point which some persons had before that time affected to question. And there is no real friend of Ireland who can doubt that it is her interest to follow Great Britain in her code of navigation laws; there is no real friend of Ireland who can doubt that it is her interest

to

to follow Great Britain in her code of laws for regulating her trade with the British colonies and plantations, for on no other terms can we be permitted to trade with them. There must be one system of imperial policy throughout the British empire, and if we are to remain a part of it, it is idle to suppose that the Parliament of Ireland can ever enact laws in opposition to any principle of imperial policy adopted by Great Britain.

Unhappily in 1789, a new occasion arose upon which the Parliament of this country thought fit to act upon the most critical imperial question which could have arisen, not only without regard to what had passed upon the same subject in Great Britain, but with direct and avowed hostility to the Parliament and Government of that country. I pass by the events of that disastrous period, and shall only say, that the intemperate, illegal, and precipitate conduct of the Irish House of Commons upon that critical and momentous occasion, has, in my opinion, in all its consequences, shaken to its foundation our boasted Constitution, and eminently contributed to bring this country into its present dangerous and alarming situation. It is in the recollection of us all, that at the conclusion of the session of 1789, nothing was left untried by Lord Buckingham to restore peace, and to conciliate those who had acted with marked personal hostility to him, so far as he could go without a breach of public duty. If he was capable of harbouring private resentment for unprovoked personal injuries offered to him, he had the magnanimity to sacrifice his feelings to an anxious solicitude for the peace of Ireland; and I have often lamented that his efforts proved unsuccessful, and that he was compelled much against his will to displace some old servants of the Crown who had opposed his Government with warmth, and not only avowed their determination to persist in the same opposition, but declined with sullen indignation even to hold communication

tion with him. And if the confidential servants of the Crown are to oppose his Majesty's Government, and to decline all communication with his Ministers, I am at a loss to know how it can exist. The first step which was taken in consequence of this political schism by gentlemen who had been the sole authors of it, was to found a political club for the reformation of alledged public abuses and political grievances: the first society of that class which I believe had existed in this country; certainly it is the first within my memory. This political institution was announced to the world by a manifesto signed and countersigned, in which the British Government was charged in direct terms with a deliberate and systematic conspiracy to subvert the liberties of Ireland. The basis of it was, a solemn resolution to preserve the Constitution of the realm as settled by the Revolution in Great Britain and Ireland in 1688, and re-established in Ireland in 1782; and all persons of congenial sentiments and principles were invited to repair to the standard thus raised, for the protection of the Constitution as settled by the Revolution of 1688. The public measures proposed by this society in this their first manifesto were, as I recollect, a place bill, a pension bill, and what was called a responsibility bill; measures which I have seen resisted warmly by some members of this society when I sat in the House of Commons. In the succeeding sessions of Parliament, they were brought forward successively and repeatedly, and were successively and repeatedly rejected; the place bill then proposed, was nearly a transcript of that which has since been adopted; the pension bill authorised an application of eighty thousand pounds yearly by the Crown to pensions; and would if then adopted, have been the sole appropriation of the public revenue in Ireland; and the responsibility bill, as it was called, would have constituted an Executive Directory, by erecting a commission composed of five public officers,

officers, with full power to controul the Crown in the exercise of its vital functions; but in discussing the merits of these bills, the debates of the House of Commons were conducted with a degree of heat and acrimony utterly unbecoming the gravity and decorum of a Legislative Assembly. If we are to credit the newspaper reports of the debates which were carried on in that House at this period, they exhibit a series of coarse and acrimonious and disgusting invective, suited only to the meridian of Billingsgate, and displayed to the people a picture of their representatives from their own pencil, little calculated to inspire them with confidence or respect. What was the consequence? The people soon subscribed to the opinions which their representatives had promulgated, and gave them all full credit for the villanous charges which they had advanced against each other; they had been taught to believe, as often as the political views of contending parties were answered by the suggestion, that Great Britain was the natural rival and enemy of this country; that she was insincere in all the concessions which had been made to Ireland, and waited only an opportunity to recal them; that our connection with the British Crown was a source of national depression; and finally, that a deliberate and systematic conspiracy had been formed by the British Government to subvert the liberties of the Irish nation. For the truth of these assertions let me refer every dispassionate man to the detail with which I have already troubled your Lordships, and for their wisdom, to subsequent events intimately connected with them;—to a self-degraded House of Commons the people were not likely to appeal for relief, against a deliberate and systematic British conspiracy, formed to subvert their liberties. In a political club composed of some of the leading members of that assembly, they could not be supposed very forward to put implicit confidence, and therefore, with
minds

minds enflamed against the British name and nation, they looked to political clubs of their own; not to procure a place bill, or a pension bill, or a responsibility bill, but to cut off the source of all past and future aggressions, by subverting the monarchy, and separating this country for ever from Great Britain. The corner stones of this wise and salutary project were, "Catholic Emancipation" and Parliamentary Reform;" which with a little foreign assistance, when the country should be ripe for it, it was hoped, would infallibly ensure its success. Accordingly in the year 1791, a new political club was formed in the metropolis, connected at its institution with similar affiliated clubs at Belfast and Cork, which was also announced by a manifesto directed, not against British ministers, but against the British nation, stating what was felt as the real grievance of Ireland, and known to be its effectual remedy, "That Ireland had no national government; that she was ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen; filled in commerce and politics with the narrow prejudices of their country." This is the grievance; now mark the remedy.—After scouting the measure of place bill, responsibility bill and pension bill as utterly inadequate to the disease, they resolve that to cut it up by the root, the representation of the people must be reformed by a general extension of the elective franchise, and that a general union amongst *all* the people was essentially necessary to counteract the weight of British influence. To effect which Union against Great Britain, an abolition of all religious distinctions in the State was indispensable. An appeal followed to the volunteers of Ireland, beseeching them to resume their arms, and to establish in fact, as they had in theory restored, the independence of Ireland, and a general recommendation to form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of constitutional

D

knowledge,

knowledge, and the dissemination of *genuine* whig principles. The object of this political association seems to be unequivocally avowed in this their first manifesto. However a full explanation of it by the author has been twice verified on oath before a secret committee of this House; in which it is distinctly avowed, that this Irish Union was originally projected by Mr. Tone, who is now a fugitive for treason, for the sole purpose of separating this kingdom from the British crown; and the same project is even more distinctly avowed in the paper quoted by the noble Baron who spoke second in the debate. Immediately a general outcry was raised of commiseration and love for the Catholics of Ireland; in which, for the first time since the Reformation, a great body of Protestant Dissenters joined; Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform went forth as the watch words of innovation and treason; and the system of innovation and treason has been pursued from that time, I am sorry to say, with equal assiduity and success. I have often lamented that this nest of conspirators calling themselves United Irishmen was suffered to establish itself unmolested in the metropolis; and that the magistrates of the city of Dublin so long delayed any interposition on their part, to relieve the Community from such a nuisance. If they had been dispersed on their first appearance, much public mischief would have been prevented. The first object of this Jacobin institution was, to detach the Catholics of Ireland from a committee composed of the principal noblemen and gentlemen of their communion, and to place them under the management of a Directory composed of men of a very different description. They saw that so long as the great body of Catholics were directed by men of rank and fortune and approved loyalty, their allegiance had remained unquestioned; and that under such influence, it would be a vain attempt to shake it.

it. Your Lordships well recollect the gross and unpardonable ribaldry with which the public prints teemed against the late Lord Kenmare at the suit of this new Directory, for no other reason than that he had presumed to disapprove a tone of jacobinism and disloyalty which they had assumed, and would have induced them to prefer their claims, in terms of duty and respect to the Legislature. Under this Directory a complete system of Democracy was established for the Government of the Catholics of Ireland, and through the mediation of Mr. Tone and his Jacobin associates at Belfast, an alliance was negotiated with the Dissenters of the northern province, who were given to understand that for their concurrence in the system of religious Emancipation, they might expect cordial and decisive support from the body of the Catholics in the grand project of Parliamentary Reform, or in other words, of Anarchy and Democracy. To forward this project, the lower orders of the Catholics were stimulated to associate under the title of Defenders, and were impressed with an opinion, that by robbing the houses of Protestants of arms and ammunition, they would contribute to the success of the Catholic cause, and finally be relieved from the payment of tithes, taxes and rent. I will not say that this system of robbery and outrage which was struck out for an ignorant and deluded populace, was first devised by the Catholic Directory: But your Lordships are in possession of full proof, that some of the unfortunate men who were capitally indicted as Defenders in the Summer 1792, were patronized and protected by them, and that considerable sums of money were paid out of their stock-purse to defray the expence attending the trials of some persons who were then convicted in the county of Louth. For this I have only to refer to the official letter of their secretary, which was proved before the secret committee of this House in 1793, and

and is stated at length in their report which has been just now read. It is now fully ascertained that a close connexion and correspondence was at this time established between the Catholic Directory and the Irish Union; and in addition to this force of midnight robbery and outrage, orders were issued by the Jacobin Clubs at Dublin and Belfast, to levy regiments of National Guards in every part of the kingdom; their uniform French, and all their ensigns emblems of disaffection. This banditti, however, was put down at the first moment of its appearance; and I cannot but lament, that every other rebellious combination has not been met with equal vigour and decision.—If it had, much public mischief would have been prevented.—The noble Lord, who is so forward to impute Irish disaffection to what he calls a system of coercion, acted upon by the Irish Government, and encouraged by the British Cabinet, will here please to recollect, that the system of midnight robbery and avowed rebellion was completely established before any one statute was enacted here, to which alone every profligate innovator in Great Britain and Ireland pretends to ascribe the present matured system of Irish treason: and he will also please to recollect, that the first of these statutes was enacted in consequence of a Report of a Committee of this House which has been just now read; a Committee appointed on the motion of a noble Earl [Farnham] unconnected with Government, and without communication with Lord Westmorland, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and I lament that a severe accident has prevented that noble Earl from attending his duty on this night. It is stated distinctly in that Report, that in 1792, and 1793, the project of levying a revolutionary army had been formed; that soldiers were forth-coming in abundance, but that officers were wanting; and I will tell that noble Lord, that this project was disclosed by evidence the most clear and satisfactory,

by

by the testimony of gentlemen of rank and character, some of them at this moment high in military command in the King's service. The first act which passed in consequence of this Report extended only to prohibit the importation of arms and ammunition, or the removal of either by coast or inland carriage, without license: and will the noble Lord venture, in this assembly, to condemn this wholesome and necessary measure of precaution by the Irish Legislature, when it appeared distinctly, that a traitorous conspiracy had been formed in the bosom of their country to levy an army, for the avowed purpose of overawing and subverting the constituted authorities of the state. In the same session, in consequence of the same Report, another act passed for stopping the contraband trade of Parliament, for declaring the law with respect to popular Conventions; for declaring the law, which I assert with confidence, prohibits and condemns all such meetings as unlawful assemblies, tending to disturb public tranquillity, and to raise well-founded alarms in the minds of the King's peaceable subjects. One of these Conventions had recently held a regular session in the metropolis, and I have seldom read more seditious and inflammatory libels than were daily circulated in the public prints appointed by authority to report their debates; and a mandate was actually issued, early in the year 1793, to elect a National Convention to be holden at Athlone, for the redress of national grievances civil and religious. The mode of election was formed by the Irish Union on the model devised by their Jacobin associates in France: primary assemblies were convened in every parish to chuse a certain number of electors, who were to meet at a certain point in the county, to chuse their representatives. It is not a strained inference to suppose, that these primary assemblies were not attended by the most sober and industrious inhabitants of the parish, and that sobriety and industry had no
very

very decided influence in the choice of electors ; neither does it require any great political sagacity to see, that if an assembly so constituted had been suffered to establish itself, a prompt and general chain of intercourse and communication would at once have been formed between the turbulent and disaffected members of the community in every part of the kingdom ; and it would have rested with the discretion of an invisible power, thus possessed of the means of receiving and communicating prompt and accurate and general intelligence, to order a general or partial insurrection at pleasure. And yet these measures of Legislative precaution, thus forced upon Parliament by treasons avowed and meditated, have been represented as the original source of popular discontent, and have been condemned by the noble Lord in terms of bitterness and indignation, as a part of the system of coercion, as he is pleased to call it, wantonly inflicted by the Irish Government upon an innocent and unoffending people, and secretly encouraged by the British Cabinet. Would the noble Lord be understood to assert, that the Irish Parliament have betrayed their trust in stopping the supply of military stores to a revolutionary army, and repressing tumultuary and seditious assemblies, notoriously convened for promoting rebellion, and overthrowing the Constitution ? or would the noble Lord be understood to insinuate, that the Lords and Commons of Ireland have betrayed their trust, because they have not looked at the growth of sedition and treason tame and unmoved, in pure compliment to his incredulity ? The Parliament of Ireland did their duty in framing new laws, to meet new and extraordinary exigencies ; and if there be a ground of censure on Parliament, it is, that their vigour was not proportioned to the magnitude and extent of the evil. The treasonable associations which were the source of it, were suffered to augment, unite and marshal their disciples, in one common league of mischief, inso-

much,

much, that under their orders, nearly the whole of the Northern district, and some counties contiguous to the metropolis, became a scene of general murder, and robbery and midnight depredation. Every man who was accused by the Brotherhood of loyalty or peaceable demeanour was stripped of his arms—if he presumed to defend himself he was murdered. Magistrates who ventured to execute the law, were marked for assassination, and many of them were actually murdered: Parliament therefore found it necessary to interpose again, and to frame a law, if possible, to meet this horrid state of barbarism and outrage, which had bid defiance to the ordinary course of justice; and in the session of 1796, the Insurrection Act was passed, which enables the Lord Lieutenant and Council, on a representation of the Justices at a Session of the Peace, that any particular district is in a state of insurrection, by proclamation to declare it so to be; and the Magistrates, in a proclaimed district, are enabled to exercise strong and summary powers for repressing tumult and outrage, and preserving the peace. Amongst others, they are authorized to order all persons within the proclaimed district to remain in their houses, and to put out their lights after a certain hour of the night. This the noble Lord has been pleased to represent as a revival of the obsolete feudal badge of servitude, the curfew, and a rigorous execution of it throughout the kingdom of Ireland. The first application to the Lord Lieutenant and Council for carrying this act into execution, was made by the Magistrates of the county of Armagh, where a religious feud had broken out, and was attended with lamentable excesses; a feud which was revived by the wicked machinations of the Irish Brotherhood, and with unblushing effrontery represented by them, as a Government persecution instituted against the Northern Catholics. I will state the short history of this religious quarrel, and the
noble

noble Lord will see the grievous indiscretion into which he has been betrayed upon this head of his accusation against the Irish Government. Many years since the Protestants, in a mountainous district of the county of Armagh, associated under the appellation of Peep-of-Day-Boys to disarm their Catholic neighbours, who associated for their common defence under the title of Defenders. This feud however was soon composed, and for years there was not any revival of it; but when the general system of robbing Protestants of their arms was established by the Irish Union, and the lower order of the Catholics assuming their old appellation of Defenders, undertook this service, the Protestants in the county of Armagh associated for their common defence under the title of Orange-men, and feeling in the progress of the contest, that they were an overmatch for their adversaries, they did commit many very grievous excesses, which I lament as deeply as the noble Lord. In the origin of this contest, many years since, there is no doubt the Northern protestants were the aggressors, but the feud was notoriously revived by the modern banditti of Defenders, who in their turn attacked the Orange-men, and would have disarmed them. Lord Camden made every possible exertion to restore peace, and to punish those who had violated the law without distinction. He sent down Colonel Cradock to take the military force in that district under his command, with positive instructions to co-operate with the civil power in suppressing tumult, and in restoring peace and good order; and so sensible were the gentlemen of the county of Armagh of their obligations to his Excellency, that at a full meeting of the Magistrates they returned their thanks unanimously for his extraordinary exertions to maintain the peace of that district. At the ensuing assizes, the Attorney General was sent down with instructions to prosecute indiscriminately every person who stood charged with acts of out-
rage

rage and disturbance of the public peace ; and no man can doubt of his impartial discharge of his duty. But the exertions of the executive government were baffled by the local factions of that district, a general election was at hand, and gentlemen who were candidates for popular favour declined to interpose between the contending parties, lest they might impair their election interests. Under the same pernicious influence, the Magistrates of the county were ranged under the banners of Orange-men or Defenders, just as it best suited their election politics, in-
 somuch that if I could have found persons in that county who would have done their duty, I would have issued an entire new commission of the peace. This is the plain history of the religious feud between the Protestants and Papists of the county of Armagh ; a feud which the noble Lord has charged upon the Irish government as a part of the system adopted for the persecution of Irish Catholics, and secretly encouraged by the British Cabinet,—a persecution to which, by his account, ninety families had fallen victims on his Lordship's estates.

Let me now state the nature of that treasonable combination which has been formed, and which the noble Lord proposes to dissolve by a repeal of the Test Laws and the act of Supremacy ; a combination the most dangerous and singular which is to be found in the annals of the civilized world. The subordinate societies consist of thirty members only ; when their numbers exceed thirty, the excess is told off, and a new society is founded, with instructions to make proselytes. And in like manner, whenever their numbers exceed thirty, the excess becomes the foundation of another club ; these societies elect delegates from each, who form committees of an higher order, which are called Baronial, and have the management and superintendence of all the subordinate clubs or societies in each barony ; the baronial com-

mittees in like manner elect delegates in each county, who by the name of county committees, govern and direct the baronials. The county committees in like manner elect delegates, who form a superintending provincial committee, for the government and direction of the several county committees in each of the four provinces; and these provincial directories appoint the general executive, whose station is in the metropolis. Every member of the Union is bound by solemn and mystic oaths, one of which we know to be a general oath of secrecy; another, never to give evidence in any court of justice against a brother, let his crime be what it may; and a third, an oath of fidelity to the French Republic. The resources of the Union are the seduction of the lower orders of the people, under the specious pretext of Freedom and Equality; and every artifice which cunning and profligacy can suggest, has been practised to detach them from the established Government and Constitution. The Press has been used with signal success as an engine of rebellion: Sedition and treason have been circulated with unceasing industry, in newspapers and pamphlets, and hand-bills and speeches, and republican songs and political manifestos. Robbery, assassination, and massacre are the efficient powers of the Union, and are executed with prompt and unerring rigour by the order of every member of the executive in their several departments. The communication of their orders is so managed, as to render detection almost impossible. Each society has its secretary, from the general executive down to the lower subordinate clubs, the members of which are generally used as the agents of the Union in all acts of outrage; and every order is communicated by the secretary of the superior committee to the secretary of that committee or society, which is next in immediate subordination to it; no subordinate committee knows of whom its next superior is

is composed; the accredited secretary vouches the order, from him it is received implicitly, and is communicated in like manner, 'till it reaches every member of the Union to whom it is addressed. The order is generally verbal, but if it be reduced to writing, the moment the person who is to receive and communicate it, is fully instructed, the paper is destroyed. Here then is a complete Revolutionary Government organized against the laws and established constitution; and let me ask the noble Lord, whether such a combination is to be met or counteracted, much less dissolved by the slow and technical forms of a regular Government; an invisible power of infinite subtlety and extent, which has no fixed or permanent station, which acts by the ungoverned fury of a desperate and savage race, and scatters universal desolation and dismay, at its sovereign will and pleasure. Such was the influence of this system of terror, that several well-disposed persons were induced from mere apprehensions for their personal security to join the Union, and some of them have, I fear, become reconciled by habit to this general league of mischief; under the same influence witnesses were deterred from coming forward to give testimony for the Crown, and every Juryman who should dare to join in a verdict of conviction was threatened with assassination. I have read a circular printed hand-bill which was publicly distributed in the disturbed districts in the course of the last summer, threatening every man who should dare to execute the laws against a member of the Brotherhood with inevitable destruction, and in some counties this menace had its full effect. Has the noble Lord heard of the numberless murders which have been perpetrated by the orders of the Irish union, for the crime of putting the laws of the country into a course of execution? Has he heard of the murder of Mr. Butler, a clergyman and a magistrate? Has he heard of the murder of Mr. Knipe,
a clergyman

a clergyman and a magistrate? Has he heard of the murder of Mr. Hamilton, a clergyman and a magistrate, and the circumstances of horror which attended it? This unhappy gentleman, who had been a Fellow of Trinity College, and had retired to a college Benefice in the county of Donegall, a man of exemplary piety and learning, had been guilty of the heinous crime of inculcating habits of religion and morality and industry and due subordination in a wild and remote district; he had also been guilty of exertion as a magistrate to stop the progress of treason, and was accordingly denounced by the Brotherhood. He had, as every other gentleman in the same predicament was obliged to do, converted his dwelling-house into a fortress, which was protected by a military Guard; he had gone to Derry, but hearing of a disturbance in his neighbourhood, he fatally prepared to return and quiet it, intending to take shelter from his enemies before the return of night. In this, however, he was prevented by a storm, which made it impossible for him to repass a lake, on the edge of which his dwelling stood, and he went to the house of a friend, Mr. Waller, who had been also a Fellow of Trinity College, and who to his misfortune received him. Whilst this gentleman and his wife and children were quietly sitting with their guest by the fire-side, a volley of musquetry was discharged into his house, which instantly killed Mrs. Waller, and this was their first notice of the attack. The savages who surrounded the house cried out for Mr. Hamilton, and threatened to burn it unless he was delivered into their hands; when this unfortunate gentleman was dragged from his hiding place by the servants of his host, delivered into the hands of his enemies, and butchered by them with aggravated circumstances of barbarity too shocking to relate; his widow and helpless children have a pension from the Crown, or they must have perished for want. Has the
noble

noble Lord heard of the murder of Mr. Cummins, whose crime was, that he had presumed to enrol his name in a corps of Yeomanry, under the command of his Landlord, the Earl of Londonderry? Has he heard of the attempt to assassinate Mr. Johnston, a magistrate in the populous town of Lisburn? Has he heard of the recent murder of Colonel St. George, and of his host Mr. Uniacke? Has he heard of the recent murder of two dragoons who had discovered to their officers an attempt to seduce them? In a word, let me ask the noble Lord, whether he has heard of the numberless and atrocious deeds of massacre and assassination, which form a part of the system acted upon by the Irish brotherhood, and encouraged by the privileged orders of innovation? I hold the dark and bloody catalogue! but will not proclaim to the civilized world the state of cannibal barbarism to which my unhappy country has been brought back by these pestilent and cowardly traitors. These are the men of sentiment whom the noble Lord is anxious to conciliate; these are the injured innocents, whose cause he has so often and so pathetically pleaded; the injured innocents who deal in midnight robbery, conflagration, and murder; and scatter terror and desolation over the face of his devoted country! The noble Lord may contemplate this scene of horror with coolness from another kingdom; but he will not be surprised that the gentlemen of Ireland, whose existence is at stake, do not view it with the same indifference. I know the noble Lord has declared his opinion that assassination forms no part of the system which is acted upon by the Irish Brotherhood, and encouraged by the privileged orders of innovation. I know that he has declared his opinion that the numberless murders which have been committed in Ireland since the institution of the Brotherhood, are but so many instances of private and individual spleen. Nay, more, I know the noble Lord has broadly insinuated an opinion, that a
periodical

periodical paper published in the metropolis, which recommends assassination, and points out individuals for massacre, is printed and published by the connivance of the Irish Government, and forms a part of the system acted upon here and encouraged by the British Cabinet. If the noble Lord continues to hold that opinion, I will for the present leave him in the undisturbed possession of it, and shall only recommend to him to peruse attentively printed reports of the trial of twelve men convicted of a conspiracy to murder a soldier in the brigade of artillery, who had ventured to reveal to his officers an attempt made to seduce him, and of the trial of some domestics of Lord Carhampton who were convicted of a conspiracy to murder him. If the noble Lord doubts the authenticity of these reports, I beg to refer him to the Judges who presided at the trials. When public justice was thus subverted; when the laws were openly insulted and beaten down; when every gentleman who had courage to remain in his county was marked for assassination, and had no protection under his own roof but from a military guard; when a plan was actually formed, and nearly ripe for execution, to disarm and cut off the soldiery thus dispersed in small bodies for the protection of individuals; when a fierce and savage foreign enemy hung upon the Irish coast, what alternative remained for the Executive Government, but to surrender at discretion to a horde of traitorous barbarians, or to use the force entrusted to it for self-defence and self-preservation? And what would have been the folly and debility of the Government, which could have hesitated to assert itself with vigour and decision at such a crisis? Lord Camden did not hesitate, but, as became him, issued an order on the 3d of March, to disarm the rebels in the Northern district: and if he had not issued the order, I do not scruple to say, that he would have betrayed his trust.

In

In giving the order, he is supported by an Address nearly unanimous of both Houses of Parliament, and I might rest his justification on that Address; but as the noble Lord has roundly asserted in another place, that the order issued by Lord Camden for disarming the Northern rebels is given up to be illegal, I now meet him on the point, and am ready to maintain that the order was, not only strictly legal under the circumstances in which it was issued; but that Lord Camden, if he had withheld it, would have been deeply responsible for the mischiefs which must have arisen from his omission. The constitution of these kingdoms must be strangely defective indeed, if it has not in it a principle of self-preservation; I very well know that it has no such defect, and therefore, when the ordinary course of the municipal law, and the utmost exertions of civil magistrates prove ineffectual for the protection of the Constitution, and for the safety and protection of his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, it is the bounden duty of the Executive Government to call in the aid of the military power, for the suppression of treason and rebellion, and for the safety and maintenance of the Constitution. It was upon this principle that an order was issued in 1779, to the military force of England to act, when the city of London was attacked by a fanatical banditti, who had well nigh made themselves masters of it. That order probably saved the British empire; and I have no doubt that the order issued here for disarming the Northern rebels, was essential for the salvation of the kingdom of Ireland. The Minister who issues such an order, is deeply responsible for the act; if he does it wantonly and on light grounds, he is highly criminal; but if the occasion demands such an exertion of authority for the preservation of the state, the Minister who withholds it is responsible for all the evil which may arise from such an act of timidity:—of his responsibility Parliament is to judge:—the Minister

Minister who issues such an order wantonly, or who withholds it improperly, is subject to impeachment; but the approbation of both Houses of Parliament is, by the constitution of these kingdoms, his full justification either for issuing or withholding the order. And therefore, I presume, when the noble Lord condemned the order issued by Lord Camden for disarming the Northern rebels as avowedly illegal, he was not apprized that it received the full, and nearly unanimous approbation of both Houses of Parliament: and, I must say, that this is, I believe, the first instance which has occurred in the annals of the British empire, in which the King's Minister has been called to make his defence for suppressing a rebellion; for issuing an order, when the kingdom was threatened with invasion, to seize arms in the hands of traitors, who waited only to join the invaders; arms in which they had no right but by robbery and treason, which they used in the interval, to terrify the weak into an union with them, and to murder every man who had virtue and constancy to adhere to his allegiance. The noble Lord has been pleased on this night to disclaim any charge of misconduct by the army in executing this order; but in exculpating his brother soldiers he redoubles his charge against the Irish Government, and imputes all the assumed misconduct which he stated in another place, to the instructions given by Lord Camden to the General Officer who commands in that district. For the present, I pass by the singular apology which he has made for his brother officers, and put it to the noble Lord, why he has ventured to make such a random charge against the Executive Government, when he might have had precise information on the subject, by moving an address to the Lord Lieutenant, to desire that he would be pleased to order a copy of these instructions to be laid on the table. I have a copy of them in my hand, and when the noble Lord hears what they are,

he

he will judge whether the charges which he has hazarded against Lord Camden, have a colour of justice.

In obedience to these orders, General Leake did proceed to disarm the rebels in the northern district, and executed this service with all the moderation, ability and discretion, which have always marked his character as a gentleman and an officer; and in executing this service, he did, amongst others, disarm the rebels of the noble Lord's town of Ballinahinch, which, I am sorry to say, has been for some years a main-citadel of treason. In proportion to its size, it may vie in treason with the town of Belfast. The noble Lord is of a different opinion, and has very fairly assigned his reasons; he says, that he explained to his tenants in the town and its vicinity the horrors of Republicanism, the many advantages of the Government and Constitution under which they live; and above all, that he explained to them the splendid virtues of the Heir Apparent of the crown; that they all made to him the most unbounded professions of loyalty, in which however he would not have put implicit confidence, if he had not observed the countenance of every man to whom he had addressed himself, beam with joy and triumphant affection, when he mentioned the name and splendid virtues of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Giving the noble Lord full credit as a physiognomist, I must conclude, if he will excuse me for a little professional pedantry, that the loyalty of his town of Ballinahinch is in *abeyance*, during the life of his present Majesty. And, as the noble Lord has very fairly stated the grounds of his opinion, I will as frankly state the grounds of mine; and first, let me refer the noble Lord to the War-Office, where he will find minutes of the General Court Martial, which tried and condemned several soldiers of a regiment of militia, four of whom were shot, and he will there find, that these unhappy men were seduced into a conspiracy by the people of his

town of Ballinahinch, to betray to the rebels of Belfast, the military posts which it was their duty to defend, and that they were also seduced to accept of military commissions, and military rank in the revolutionary army of Belfast and Ballinahinch, which was then organized, and waited only the opportunity to come forth in battle array. Let me refer the noble Lord to General Leake, for another proof of loyalty in the town of Ballinahinch; when he summoned the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, they refused to obey him, but on being threatened with severity if they persisted in this refusal, they did deliver up their arms, and amongst other weapons, no inconsiderable number of pikes. Are pikes constitutional arguments for Parliamentary Reform? Are pikes emblems of loyalty? Is the seduction of the King's troops a symptom of loyalty? And are these the dutiful and affectionate offerings of the noble Lord's tenants and dependents, to the rising virtues of the Heir Apparent of the Crown? Does the noble Lord forget that his domestics were tainted with the general contagion? That his gardener and groom, in the presence of Mr. Hamilton, a magistrate, the noble Lord's manager and agent, acknowledged themselves to be members of the Union, and acknowledged that pikes and pike-shafts had been concealed in his timber-yard; and on searching for them, Mr. Hamilton did frankly confess his opinion, that they had been removed but the night before General Leake's arrival in the village. The noble Lord will not, I hope, suppose me to insinuate that this concealment was made with his knowledge, or countenanced by him. The most natural place for concealing pikes and pike-shafts, was the house and its appendages of a nobleman in his absence, whose servants and dependents had been seduced into a traitorous conspiracy against the State. His name and rank were very naturally supposed to cast a protection around the place of his
occasional

occasional residence, and to baffle all suspicion that it was become a sanctuary of rebellion. The noble Lord stated, that the imputation of disloyalty on his town of Ballinahinch, rested only on the evidence of a man of the name of Daniel Morgan, whom he represents to have been of infamous character ; but the noble Lord forgot to mention the fate of Morgan. That Daniel Morgan did give an information before one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, of treasons committed, and treasons meditated, by many of the inhabitants of Ballinahinch, is most true ; it is equally true, that subsequent events have very fully verified every article of his information, and that he was murdered in consequence of the discoveries which he had presumed to make. This unhappy man, after he had sworn his information, went to the town of Downpatrick, and was there protected for some time by a military guard ; but having ventured to go into the country at the distance of some miles, on a visit to his wife, who had taken refuge at her father's house, he was murdered there, by a band of ruffians who came on horseback upon this mission ; and it was distinctly ascertained, that on the night when this murder was committed, a number of persons had sallied from Ballinahinch on horseback, so that it is at the least highly probable, that the assassins ordered upon this service, were selected from the loyalists of that peaceable town. Within the last two months, under pretence of celebrating the noble Lord's birth-day, the centinels on duty there were made drunk, and this opportunity was taken to rob the King's stores of some hundreds of ball cartridges : Such is the state of the noble Lord's town of Ballinahinch, which he has been taught to believe to be a model of sentimental and enthusiastic loyalty : and if he has been so grossly duped and misled in the opinions which he has imbibed of his own immediate tenants and dependents, what must be the extent of his dupery with respect to the kingdom at large ?

The

The noble Lord has thought good on this night to retract the charges originally advanced by him against the army of Ireland, and to declare that the excesses and extravagancies of which he complained, were committed under the direct and immediate orders of the Executive Government. The particular instances of military outrage adduced by the noble Lord were—"The destruction of the printing-press of a newspaper, called the Northern Star, at Belfast. The story of a child in convulsions, whose nurse was ordered to extinguish her lights. The picketing one blacksmith, and half-strangling another." As to the first of these charges, in the terms in which it was originally advanced by the noble Lord, an indifferent and uninformed hearer would have imagined, that a regiment headed by its officers had at noon day marched, with drums beating and colours flying, under the eye of a General Officer at headquarters, to demolish the house and the printing-press of a news printer who had made himself obnoxious to the Executive Government. But what is the fact, of which the noble Lord certainly might have been fully and distinctly apprized? A regiment of militia which I am well informed, until it was cantoned at Belfast and Ballinahinch, was considered as one of the best behaved and best disciplined regiments in the service, had been corrupted by traitors in both quarters; several of the soldiers had been capitally convicted by the sentence of a General Court Martial, and four of them had been shot upon clear evidence that they had yielded to the seduction practised upon them. The regiment, to retrieve its character, subscribed to a fund for discovering and punishing any new attempt to seduce the soldiery, and made a declaration of determined loyalty to their King and his Government. A body of the soldiers attended by some non-commissioned officers not on duty, went to the printer's office

to

to desire that this declaration of loyalty might be printed in his newspaper, offering to pay for it: he refused to receive their advertisement, and accompanied his refusal with some taunting reflections on the soldiers, who did at the instant, goaded with the recent execution of their companions, which they attributed, perhaps with some degree of reason, to the poison diffused by the Northern Star, and with the taunting refusal of the Printer to receive the declaration which they would have published, proceed to acts of violence against him, and did very nearly destroy his types and printing-presses. Colonel Leslie, who commanded the regiment, almost immediately interposed, brought off his men, and shut them up in their Barrack; however, while he was thus engaged, another party, composed principally of yeomanry, who were not in uniform, again attacked the printer's house, and completed the destruction of his types and printing-presses. Let me ask the noble Lord, whether he will venture gravely to assert in this assembly, that he believes this outrage upon military discipline and the municipal law, to have been contrived and committed under the immediate direction of Lord Camden? and if he will venture to make the assertion, let me ask him, whether I am to understand his apology for General Leake, and the officers under his command to be, that they have tamely suffered the King's representative to pass by them, and to issue secret orders to the soldiery under their command, to go forth as a mob, to the utter subversion of military discipline? Am I to understand his apology for his brother officers to be, that they hold their military situations under a Government which has maintained a secret correspondence and communication with the soldiery under their command, and has stimulated them to acts of outrage, which the noble Lord did distinctly in his first statement upon this subject insinuate, as scandalous and disgraceful to the military character in Ireland? If
this

this be the noble Lord's apology for General Leake, and for the officers in command in his district, in pure respect for them, I beg to deprecate it; and in pure respect for these deserving officers, I beg of the noble Lord to abide by his first charge against them, however ill founded. The second instance of military excess and extravagance, is the rigorous enforcement of that obsolete badge of servitude the curfew: "The story of the nurse and child:" I have taken some pains to come at the truth of this story, and the result has been, that I find a light had been challenged by order of the officer commanding a patrol in the neighbourhood of Downpatrick, at two different times, and in two different houses, both, however, situated in a proclaimed district; in one of these houses a child lay in convulsions, and it so happened, that the officer who commanded the patrol, was also the regimental surgeon; he went into the house, and finding on examination that a child lay in convulsions, he suffered its parents to keep their lights burning, and early on the next day returned to them for the purpose of affording medical assistance to the infant. The other instance of the enforcement of the curfew, happened at the house of a man of the name of Carson, whose lights were burning after eleven o'clock; on being called to by the patrol to extinguish them, and not complying immediately, a foldier broke a pane of glass in one of his windows; and so far was Carson from complaining of the injury, that he went the next day to Colonel Bainbridge, who commanded at Downpatrick, and apologized to him for not having asked permission to keep his lights burning to so late an hour, which had never been denied when he had applied for it; and it is a fact which I cannot avoid stating, that within the last week, Mr. George Crozier, the noble Lord's land-steward, and solicitor at law, did press this same Mr. Carson to furnish him with the particulars which had attended this grievous enforcement of the

the curfew ; that Carson told him, he had not any ground of complaint : to which Mr. Crozier replied, that unless he would furnish him with the detail of this military extravagance, he should be dragged to the bar of the House of Lords, and examined to it on his oath. So much for the story of the nurse and child—and now for the story of the half-strangled and picketed blacksmith. An information had been made on oath before Mr. Maxwell, a Magistrate, that a blacksmith, of the name of Kirke or Shaw, had been employed in making pike-heads, which he had manufactured in great numbers for the rebels in and about Downpatrick ; accordingly Mr. Maxwell went out with a flank company under the command of a field officer, to search for these pike-heads ; Mr. Maxwell apprehended the blacksmith, who denied positively that he had ever manufactured a single pike-head ; the serjeant and some of the soldiers put a rope round his neck and drew it over a beam, in the hope of terrifying him into a confession, but he was not suspended. The Magistrate then brought him into the town of Downpatrick, where the Colonel of a fencible regiment, who has died since, put him on the picket, and he did immediately discover the names of several persons for whom he had manufactured pike-heads : In consequence of which discovery, nearly two hundred pikes were seized or brought in within two days. Let me here request of the noble Lord to reflect on the number of probable murders which were prevented by this act of military severity, and appeal to his candour and good sense, whether the injury done to society in putting Mr. Shaw on the picket, is in any degree to be put in competition with the injury which must have arisen, in leaving two hundred pikes of his manufacture in the hands of the rebels and assassins of that disturbed district ? I deplore as sincerely as the noble Lord can do, these necessary acts of severity ; but the Executive Government was reduced to the painful

ful alternative of using the force entrusted to it in defence of the King's peaceable and well-affected subjects, or of tamely giving them up to the fury of a fierce and savage democracy. Every man of feeling must lament the painful duties which are imposed on military officers employed in the suppression of a rebellion. The noble Lord was employed on this service in America, where he was reduced to the painful, but I am confident the indispensable duty of ordering a gentleman who bore the commission of a Colonel, to summary execution, without the formality of a trial. He will readily perceive that I allude to the case of Colonel Isaac Haynes, who was hanged at Charlestown in the year 1781. This gentleman had taken the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, and was suffered to retire to his plantation some miles up the country; the use which he made of this indulgence was, to excite sedition, disaffection and disturbance in the adjacent district; to terrify the weak and timid into an Union with him; and to murder every man who had constancy to resist his solicitations. Of this description was an Irishman of the name of Creighton, whose house he surrounded with an armed banditti in order to murder him; but Creighton had time to make his escape to Charlestown, and a patrol having come up with Haynes, and seized him; on identifying his person by a court of enquiry, he was hanged at Charlestown by order of the noble Lord, and of Colonel Balfour. I state these facts from the printed Reports of the Debates of the British House of Lords, in February 1782: and upon the same authority I will state, that the defence made for the noble Lord in that assembly by a near friend and connection of his was, that the Commander in Chief had fully approved of the execution of Colonel Haynes, and that similar executions had taken place in hundreds of instances during the American war. Let me repeat, that I do not allude to this act of extreme
military

military severity in any manner with a view to condemn it: I am confident that the noble Lord in issuing his order, felt that it was an act on his part of painful and indispensable duty;—but with that feeling in his mind, I cannot but wonder that the noble Lord has brought forward the story of the curfew, and the story of the inquisition, the story of the nurse and child, and the story of the backsmith, more especially when I recollect the strong comment which the noble Lord has transmitted to posterity upon a proposed parliamentary enquiry into the execution of Colonel Haynes, as an unpardonable abuse, in his opinion, of parliamentary privilege and authority. Soon after Lord Camden had issued his order for disarming the rebels in the Northern district, he was enabled to come at evidence the most distinct and satisfactory of the system of treason established by the Irish Brotherhood, and the means by which this discovery was made were purely accidental. A man of the name of Newell, an United Irishman, by profession a portrait painter, had been a member of one of the superior committees of the Brotherhood; he had gone to the house of a gentleman in the county of Down, whose loyalty was unquestioned, to draw portraits of some of his family; and being prevented by sickness from attending his committee of the Brotherhood for more than a fortnight, he was immediately suspected of having betrayed the secrets of the Brotherhood to his employer, and marked accordingly for assassination. An attempt was made to execute this sentence upon him by night in the town of Belfast; when, finding himself denounced, he gave information which enabled the Executive Government to seize three committees, with all their papers, in the very act of traitorous council. These papers were referred to Secret Committees of both Houses of Parliament; and the noble Lord acknowledges, that he has read the reports made by them; but he has this night

pretty plainly insinuated, that he considers the committees who made their reports, and the two houses who concurred with them, to be little short of dupes and drivellers, inasmuch as he has discovered, by a confession made by Newell and by another man of the name of Smith, which he has read since his last arrival in Ireland, that the evidence given by both is false and fabricated. Let me ask the noble Lord, whether he has been favoured with the confession of the worthy gentleman who bribed this Smith and Newell to make such a declaration? Has the gentleman, who paid each of them a sum of 400*l.* favoured the noble Lord with a detailed account of that transaction? And has Mr. Newell satisfied the noble Lord by his confession, that the papers seized at Belfast, and referred to both Houses of Parliament, are also false and fabricated? Has Mr. Newell's confession, which the noble Lord has read satisfied him, that the official returns of cannon, and musquets, and military stores, of soldiers organized for a revolutionary army; the official plan of a revolutionary committee; the projected scheme of massacre and confiscation, all reduced to writing, and seized upon three distinct committees of treason sitting in council, are fiction and fabrication? Has Mr. Newell's confession, which the noble Lord has read since his last arrival in Ireland, satisfied him that the report of the committee of this House, stating that it appeared distinctly to them that an ambassador had been sent from hence by the Brotherhood in the year 1795, to treat with the executive directory of the French Republic, is also mere fiction and delusion? And will the noble Lord gravely insinuate, that the Lords and Commons of Ireland are dupes and drivellers? And that the noble Lord, by his residence in another country, or by his occasional visits in Ireland, where he is surrounded by men who are anxious to deceive him, is now enabled to correct their errors and delusions?

With

With all respect to the noble Lord it is an assumption, on his part, to which I must take leave to enter my protest ; and I doubt not I shall be joined by a very great majority indeed of the gentlemen who feel a permanent interest in the safety of this country. Upon the reports made to both Houses of Parliament, they voted a joint and unanimous address to the Lord Lieutenant, desiring that he would exert the whole energy of the powers civil and military entrusted to him for the suppression of existing rebellion ; and in consequence of this address, his Excellency did, with the advice and concurrence of his Privy Council, issue a proclamation notifying to all his Majesty's subjects, that he had, in pursuance of the joint address of both Houses of Parliament, issued his orders to all executive officers civil and military to maintain the public peace, and to suppress treason, rebellion and insurrection ; and in the body of this proclamation, his Excellency did offer full pardon and indemnity to all persons who should within a reasonable time, I think six weeks, return to their allegiance ; and the term for coming in was extended by a subsequent proclamation, I think to six weeks more. The noble Lord will not, I am confident, condemn a proclamation here, thus issued under the authority of both Houses of Parliament ; and I trust he will not condemn it a second time in another place. And when the noble Lord was pleased on this night to impute some of the excesses of which he complained, to the orders or instructions given to the Commander in Chief by Lord Camden, I must again state to him my surprise that he should make such a vague and random charge against his Excellency, when he might have had precise and accurate information on the subject, by moving for a copy of the instructions. I have in my hand a copy of Lord Camden's instructions to the Commander in Chief, and of his general order issued in pursuance of them, which I will also read to the noble Lord,

The

The vigorous measures adopted by Lord Camden, in which he was so fully supported by both Houses of Parliament, had in a great measure stopped the progress of rebellion, when it was again set into motion by a most preposterous proceeding, instituted by some gentlemen of rank and fortune in the county of Down. Early in the last Summer, it was reported that a change of British ministers was in agitation, and I have been well informed that a letter from a nobleman, who it was supposed would take a lead in the new Cabinet, was read at a tavern in this town, to a motley assembly of United Irishmen and others, exhorting them to set the people of Ireland to work in the way of addresses to his Majesty, for that the critical time had arrived, when the support of the new embryo Cabinet was essential. And at this critical time, when the whole of the county of Down was proclaimed by law to be in a state of insurrection, and when it had recently been a general scene of midnight robbery, conflagration and murder, an advertisement appeared in the public prints, calling on the High Sheriff to convene the inhabitants of the county without distinction, whether insurgents or not, to meet, in order to frame a petition to his Majesty for the dismissal of his Ministers; and what seems scarcely credible, amongst the persons who signed this curious requisition to the Sheriff, were the names of some Magistrates who first memorialled the Lord Lieutenant and Council to proclaim the county under the insurrection act, as was the name of a Reverend Prelate, who I see in his place on this night, for the first time that he has appeared there for years. The High Sheriff, much to his credit, refused to comply with this monstrous requisition made to him to collect the insurgents of the county of Down by colour of his authority; and the gentlemen who had formed this project for bringing together a body of ten or twenty thousand of them, gave it up, as they professed,

fessed, only from an apprehension that such a tumultuous assembly would have been dispersed by the Magistrates. But the petition was framed, and, if I have been well informed, that Reverend Prelate not only signed it, but did without reserve solicit signatures to it; and if I have been well informed, a clergyman of the established Church, a member of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Down, did read this petition from the pulpit in a Dissenter's Meeting-house, and publicly solicit his auditory to put their names to it. I mention this circumstance in the hearing of that Reverend Prelate, that he may enquire into it at his next visitation, and if he finds that such an act of profane indecorum was committed by a member of his Chapter, he may inflict a censure upon him adequate to his offence. This petition has appeared in all the public prints; it sets out by a complaint that the war and the misconduct of Ministers have destroyed the manufactures and the trade of that district. It is a discovery reserved for that sagacious prelate, and his more sagacious compeers, that a war which has ravaged the German empire must lessen the demand for Irish linens. But how does the fact bear them out in this assertion? The value of linens exported from Ireland in the four years prior to the war, from 1788 to 1791 inclusive, is nine millions four hundred and fifty-eight thousand two hundred and ten pounds, and the value for the four subsequent years, from 1792 to 1795 inclusive, is eleven millions six hundred and sixty-two thousand one hundred and fifty-five pounds; so that it appears distinctly, that in the first four years of the war the linen manufacture, the staple of Ireland, and the only manufacture of the Northern district, has encreased to the amount in value of more than two millions two hundred thousand pounds, over and above the amount of it in the four corresponding years prior to the war; and in the year 1796, which I have not taken into this calculation, the value of linen exported,

was

was three millions one hundred and thirteen thousand, six hundred and eighty-seven pounds, a sum infinitely greater than the export had ever before amounted to in any one year, since the linen manufacture was first established in Ireland. So much for the veracity of that Reverend Prelate, and his co-petitioners in this first assertion carried by them to the foot of the Throne. It is perfectly true, that in the last year (1797) the export of linen fell above ten millions of yards; but if that Right Rev. Prelate and his compeers, had thought fit to state truth to his Majesty, they would have stated, that the linen weavers of the county of Down had altogether deserted their looms, and addicted themselves to politics; they would have stated to his Majesty that they had exchanged their Shuttles for pikes and muskets and cannon; that their nights were devoted to every species of excess and outrage, and therefore, that a total stop was put to sober and honest exertion amongst the lower order of the people; and if the Right Reverend Prelate and his compeers had told truth to his Majesty, they would have stated, that their petition, fraught as it is with virulent falsehood and misrepresentation, had been hawked about the county for the mischievous purpose of enflaming the minds of the people, and of diverting them from habits of sober industry, and submission to the laws, and that this wise and patriotic effort had its full effect. With equal veracity it is stated to his Majesty, that the commerce of that district has been annihilated by the war and by the misconduct of Ministers; how does the fact bear them out in this assertion? By official returns from the commissioners of the customs it appears, that the custom of the port of Belfast, for the four years of the war compared with the four corresponding years prior to it, have not fallen, on an average, quite seven thousand pounds a year; although the importation of foreign spirits has almost wholly ceased, and although it is perfectly
notorious,

notorious, that since the year 1791, the town of Belfast has been a citadel of treason, a circumstance not much in favour of its credit in foreign countries. Perhaps the Right Rev. Prelate will tell me that the representation to his Majesty went not to any particular district, but to the kingdom at large; here again I meet him with official documents, from which it appears that on a comparative view of the trade of Ireland, exports and imports, during eight years, ended at Lady-day 1797, there is an accruing balance in her favour of more than six millions five hundred and forty thousand pounds; and the increase of her tonnage has been seventeen thousand eight hundred seventy-two tons in the same period. This is the country, whose trade and manufactures the Right Rev. Prelate represents to his sovereign, as annihilated by the war and by the misconduct of ministers! this is the country which he represents to his sovereign as sinking under the weight of misgovernment! this is the country which his sovereign is to rescue from impending ruin only, by a radical parliamentary reform! But what will that Right Reverend Prelate say for himself in having joined in a representation to his Majesty, that the *most constitutional and loyal means of seeking redress*, have been opposed by the most unconstitutional and illegal coercions? What will that Right Rev. Prelate, a Bishop of the established Church, say for himself, in having thus justified to his flock an organized system of murder and robbery, and midnight conflagration, as the most constitutional and loyal means of seeking redress, and in approaching his Sovereign with this premeditated and unblushing imposition? And is there salvation for a country, in which gentlemen of rank and fortune, headed by a Christian Bishop, can be misled into such acts of criminal folly and levity, not to bestow upon them a harsher epithet? About the same period a similar act of wisdom was committed in the county of Kildare,

Kildare, and a similar petition was hawked about that county for signatures, to which it is said the name of a mendicant cripple is affixed, whose station for more than twenty years has been on the high way at half a mile distance from Naas, and who must be familiar to every gentleman that has travelled on the southern road; and I have been informed by unquestioned authority, that a peer of the realm did spend an entire day in the little town of Leixlip soliciting signatures to this petition, and that his canvass was retarded more than an hour by a blacksmith, who resisted the importunities practised upon him to forsake his hammer and his anvil, and to addict himself to the politics of his noble preceptor. What was the consequence of this act of criminal folly in the county of Kildare? From a state of perfect tranquillity and good order, it became almost immediately a scene of general tumult and outrage, insomuch that the resident gentlemen were compelled to seek for safety and protection by maintaining regular military garrisons in their houses, and fortifying every part of them, which was open to assault; and such was the base and brutal spirit of the insurgents, that their best benefactors were marked for destruction. Mr. Conolly, who had spent the whole of his life and a princely fortune amongst them, who was more than seconded in acts of unbounded charity and benevolence by that excellent woman, who, if perfection be the lot of human nature, is a model of it; who has employed the whole of her life in administering comfort to the poor in a district of miles around her, as if they were members of her family, who has fed the hungry and cloathed the naked, and healed the sick, and brought up their children in the ways of religion and virtue, and honest industry; Mr. Conolly and this most excellent lady were marked as the objects of plunder and destruction, by the wretches who had existed for a course of
more

more than thirty years by their bounty. And this gentleman and his lady, who have thus devoted their lives, and a great and princely fortune, to acts of unbounded beneficence in a circuit of miles around them, are at this moment indebted for personal safety in their mansion-house, to the protection of a military guard, and dare not make use of the lower apartments in it, under the apprehension of a midnight salute of musquetry. And the noble Lord may rest assured, if he should return to his country residence in Ireland, he may meet the fate from the loyalists of Ballinahinch which was intended for Mr. Conolly by gentlemen of the same stamp at Celbridge.

Notwithstanding the patriotic efforts of some worthy and Reverend gentlemen in the county of Down to persuade the people that their commerce and manufactures were annihilated, and that the acts of outrage and rebellion into which they were seduced, are the most loyal and constitutional means of redress, order and tranquillity were restored in the course of the last Summer in a considerable part of that district; a very great number of destructive weapons had been seized and secured in the King's stores: In the county of Down and the adjacent district, more than four thousand pikes, several thousands of fire-arms, two small pieces of cannon and a howitzer. And in another district, a noble Lord who sits near me, was enabled to seize twelve hundred pikes and two pieces of cannon, six-pounders. The people were returning fast to habits of industry, and confidence was so far restored, that justice had in some of the disturbed counties resumed its course, insomuch that several persons were capitally convicted of treason and murder, others of administering unlawful and treasonable oaths;—amongst the latter, a man of better rank in society, of the name of William Orr. Instantly a new revolutionary engine was set at work, and the administration of justice was systematically libelled in

all its departments ; a newspaper has been set up in the metropolis, if report is to be credited, at the suit of a young gentleman who may one day have a seat in this House, systematically to degrade the administration of justice ; and this Mr. William Orr has been publicly held out as a martyr, and a victim sacrificed by the Executive Government in violation of criminal justice ; and a gentleman, whom I believe the people of England have the happiness to behold as one of their representatives, has with equal decency and wisdom, at a late drunken tavern meeting in that country, given by way of sentimental toast, “ the memory of William Orr who was basely murdered in Ireland ; ” and his neighbour, not to be outdone in wisdom and discretion by this worthy senator, announced to the chairman his sentiment, “ that the Irish Cabinet may soon take the place of Mr. Orr ! ” I have informed myself accurately of the circumstances which attended this unhappy man’s conviction, which I will state, and as I state them in the hearing of the noble and learned Lord who sat upon his trial, if I should commit any the most trivial mistake, I have no doubt he will set me right. He was indicted for administering an unlawful oath to two soldiers of the names of Wheatly and Lindsay, an oath certainly intended to seduce them from their duty ; what led to the discovery of their seduction was, the seizure of some official papers at Londonderry, upon a committee of United Irishmen, in which these two soldiers were returned by name by one of their corresponding committees, as *being up*, which is the cant phrase of the Brotherhood to describe its members : these men were immediately seized by their officers, and examined separately, and on their examination, they both agreed in the detail of their evidence ; and having sworn informations before a Magistrate against Mr. Orr, for administering an oath of seduction to them, he was arrested,

and

and brought to trial. On his trial both the soldiers were examined, and proved distinctly, that Orr had administered the oath to them in the presence of several persons, whom they named; and after a long and puzzling cross-examination, as I am informed, nothing appeared which could invalidate their testimony. An attempt was made by the prisoner, in his defence, to impeach the credit of one of them, I think of Wheatly, in which he failed so completely, that the learned Lord who presided at the trial could not even take down this evidence on his note-book; but no attempt whatever was made at or after the trial, to impeach the credit or to invalidate the testimony of Lindsay; and although both the soldiers named several persons who had been present when they were sworn by the prisoner, not one of them was produced on his part or examined in contradiction of the soldiers. On this evidence the jury found him guilty, and recommended him to mercy; the next day a motion was made in arrest of judgment; and to the scandal and disgrace of the profession to which I belong, in a partial and garbled report of the trial of this unhappy man, which every Lawyer who reads it must see is the production of a Barrister, the Public are given to understand that there was but one count in the indictment to which the objection was made in arrest of judgment; and the Public are also given to understand that this unhappy man was tried and convicted under an expired statute, although it is clear as any point could be, that the original statute would not have expired till the end of this session of Parliament; and an act had passed last year for explaining and amending it, which is altogether suppressed; and although there were three counts in the indictment, to all of which the evidence on the trial equally applied, and two of them were unobjected to by the prisoner's counsel, yet is this circumstance also suppressed; and in the same garbled and mutilated report,

an affidavit of two of the Jurors is printed, that whiskey was introduced into the jury-room, and that they were drunk when they gave their verdict; and, to the scandal and disgrace of an honourable profession, in the same report, one of the prisoner's counsel is represented as having stated this affidavit in open Court, on the flimsy pretence of moving the Court of Oyer and Terminer for an attachment against these Jurymen upon the voluntary affidavit, which they had been prevailed upon to make, accusing themselves of having given their verdict in a state of intoxication; and in the same report a voluntary affidavit of a dissenting Clergyman, taken most improperly by a Magistrate after Orr's conviction, is also printed, in which he states that some time since he attended Wheatly at the village of Rasharkin on a sick bed, when he confessed that he had committed a number of crimes, and amongst others the crime of perjury; and in the same affidavit he describes Wheatly pretty plainly as being in a state of mental derangement when he made this confession. On the return of the learned Lord to town he laid the recommendation of the Jury before the Lord Lieutenant, and being asked by his Excellency whether he had a doubt on his mind of the guilt of Mr. Orr, and whether he would join in recommending him to mercy, the learned Lord declared he had no doubt on his mind of the guilt of this unhappy man, and that he could not recommend him to mercy consistently with his duty. His Excellency, notwithstanding this declaration of the learned Lord, respited Mr. Orr, to give time for enquiry, whether any justifiable ground could be laid for extending mercy to him? and finding that nothing could be substantiated to shake the justice of his conviction, the unhappy man was left for execution. The affidavits which I have stated never were laid before the Lord Lieutenant; but if they had, is there a man with a trace of the principles of justice in his mind,

who

who will say that such affidavits ought to be attended to? Is it to be supposed that a Judge would receive a verdict from a Jury in a state of intoxication? Or was it ever heard that a Juryman was received, by voluntary affidavit, to impeach a verdict in which he had concurred? Will any man with a trace of criminal justice in his mind say, that a voluntary affidavit of a person not produced, unexamined at the trial, ought to be received after conviction, to impeach the credit of a witness who was examined and cross-examined, and whose credit stood unimpeached by legal evidence? If such an affidavit were to lay the necessary foundation of a pardon after conviction, I will venture to say there is no man who may be convicted hereafter of any crime, however atrocious, that will not be able to obtain a similar affidavit. I wish Magistrates to know, that in taking such affidavits, they are guilty of a gross breach of duty; they have no jurisdiction or authority to administer voluntary oaths or to take voluntary affidavits. The person who takes such an oath, or makes such an affidavit, cannot be convicted of perjury if he swears falsely; and, I am sorry to say, that it is no uncommon practice in Magistrates to sign instruments which are called affidavits, without obliging the persons who sign them to make oath as to the truth of their contents. If a doubt could be entertained upon the evidence given on his trial of the guilt of Mr. Orr, his dying declaration seems to me to be a plain confession of it; he is made to declare generally that the soldiers who accused him were forsworn; but for this general declaration he had this plain subterfuge,—that *he* had administered an oath to them, not to give evidence against any brother of the Union. He seems distinctly to avow the offence of which he was convicted, and to deny the justice and authority of the statute which makes it a capital crime. The fact is, that this unhappy man was a principal and confidential member of the Brotherhood, and
his

his execution was considered a fatal blow to the cause of treason; and, therefore it is that all this outcry has been raised, in the hope of doing away the effects of such an example, and of terrifying Judges from discharging their duty, and the executive Government from presuming to withhold pardon from any leading member of the Brotherhood who may hereafter be convicted. The wretched beings of the inferior orders whom they seduce, are consigned to their fate without remorse or murmur.

Soon after the execution of Mr. Orr, a most atrocious libel was published on the Judge who had tried him, and on his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for suffering justice to take its course; and a wretched printer of the name of Finerty, who had been put forward to swear himself the sole proprietor of the newspaper in which it was published, was tried and convicted, and sentenced to the pillory and imprisonment on an indictment for the publication: and in order to do away the effects of this example, a new expedient was devised: a libel infinitely more flagrant and mischievous was immediately circulated in pamphlets, and newspapers, as the speech of one of his Majesty's counsel, delivered by way of defence for the printer on his trial: I will not believe that an honourable profession has been scandalized and degraded, by the delivery of such a farrago of falsehood and sedition in a court of justice: I will not believe that any gentleman who wears the gown of that honourable profession, could be found to insinuate broadly to the jury, who were to give a verdict on the trial of his client, that they were packed and garbled, because the sheriff by whom they were impannelled derived his authority from the crown: I will not believe that any gentleman of that honourable profession would venture to state distinctly, that his client could expect from the Judge to whom he addressed himself, at best, but a cold and inanimate

mate statement of facts, and the law arising from them ; thus in plain terms insinuating, in the true spirit of the Brotherhood, that the sources of criminal justice are poisonous and corrupted. No, in their rage for degrading the administration of justice, they would blast the character of their retained advocate, by falsely and foully representing him as sacrificing his miserable client to the cause of sedition and treason, and by imputing a libel to him, for which the author ought to have accompanied Mr. Finerty on the pillory.

I trust the noble Lord has heard enough on this night to open his eyes with respect to the state of the kingdom of Ireland. But if any thing is wanting to flash conviction on his mind, of the disloyalty and treason of the Irish Union, let him look to what is now passing in the southern and midland districts. During all the disturbances which prevailed in other parts of the kingdom, we were in a state of profound tranquillity and contentment there ; the farmers had already tasted the sweets of sober industry ; agriculture was encreasing most rapidly, and the country wore the face of wealth and comfort and happiness ; nay, more, the condition of the lowest order of the peasantry was meliorated in a degree that I never flattered myself I should have lived to witness ; we never heard there of Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation ; and if the noble Lord was to talk of either to a farmer or a peasant of the southern or western Province, he would comprehend him as little as he would understand the quotation from Tully which his Lordship has just now made. When the enemy appeared on the coast in the last year, a general sentiment of loyalty prevailed in all ranks and degrees of the people, who vied with each other, in contributing to defend their country against the invaders. On the report of general Hoche, at his return to France, of this unexpected loyalty in the people of Ireland, the ambafadors

fadors of the Irish Union resident at Paris, were reproached with having imposed upon the Directory, and in consequence of this reproach, instructions were transmitted to the Irish Directory to organize the south of Ireland, as they had organized the north; and accordingly emissaries have been employed to seduce the people of that district with so much success, that there has been a sudden and immediate transition in almost every part of the Province of Munster, and also in many counties in Leinster, from peace and good order and contentment, to general tumult and outrage, and every species of cruelty and barbarism. Will the noble Lord say, that the present disturbed state of the southern district is to be imputed to the system of coercion, as he calls it, acted upon by the government of Ireland, and encouraged by the British Cabinet? Coercion, as he calls it, was never put into practice there, 'till unhappily the recent seduction of the giddy and deluded people of that district compelled the magistrates and resident gentlemen to fly for refuge to the executive government, and to call for the execution of the insurrection act in their own defence. But I make no doubt that we shall soon be told by some of the noble Lord's political friends in Great Britain, that the miserable inhabitants of the south of Ireland have been goaded to insurrection by the system of coercion, and that they have only sought for Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation by the most loyal and constitutional means; and certainly this story may be told of the people of the south, with the same degree of truth with which it has been propagated of the injured inhabitants of the north. Let me now make a serious and solemn appeal to the noble Lord; let me call upon him to state distinctly and unequivocally, whether he believes there is at this hour an organized and extended system of treason rooted in the kingdom of Ireland? If he answers that he does not believe it, let me ask him, what he considers to be
symptoms

symptoms or proofs of treason ? Does he consider the project of levying a revolutionary army a proof of treason ? Does he consider the seduction of the King's troops a proof of treason ? Does he consider a conspiracy to seize the King's forts and arsenals a proof of treason ? Such a conspiracy was detected within the last month at Athlone. Does he consider the formation of secret depots of arms and ammunition a proof of treason ? Does he consider the concealment of cannon a proof of treason ? Does he consider the distribution of pikes amongst the lowest order of the people a proof of treason ? Does he consider the mystick revolutionary Government of the Irish Union a proof of treason ? Does he consider a regular correspondence carried on by the Executive Directory of the Union with the King's enemies to be a proof of treason ? The fact is so notorious that I must suppose the noble Lord has heard that there now is and has been for a considerable time an accredited minister plenipotentiary of the Irish Directory resident at Paris ; a man who received the rudiments of his education in a seminary of Jesuits, and completed it in the office of an Attorney at Law. The noble Lord has, I presume, also heard that the Irish Directory had three accredited ministers resident at Lisle during the late negociation for peace, to counteract the King's minister Lord Malmesbury. I make no doubt the noble Lord would recognize these gentlemen if he were to hear their names, as they are all natives of Belfast. And let me ask the noble Lord, whether he has come express to this kingdom, seriously to recommend to us to oppose conciliation to rebellion, to oppose cannon and pikes with concession and sentiment and romance and fine feeling ? If the noble Lord had been so opposed in America, there can be no doubt what would have been the event of his campaigns. But if the noble Lord has so much confidence in conciliation, he certainly has not commenced his operations with

judgment, he should have set out by making his proposition to the Directory of the Union; and first let me ask him, whether he knows of whom the Directory is composed? If he knows them, he will do a very signal service to the nation by disclosing their names. I suspect very strongly that the noble Lord has seen and communicated with some of them since his last arrival in Ireland; not officially as members of the Directory, for I am pretty confident they would feel the same reluctance in communicating officially with the noble Lord, that they would feel in communicating with me; but as members of the head committee of grievances appointed to collect materials for this long-expected debate, I am apt to suspect that some of the Directory may have tendered their services to the noble Lord. If they will negotiate with him, he will find the event to be, that we shall be desired by way of preliminary to lay down our arms, and restore to the Union all the arms and ammunition which we have taken from them, to repeal the test laws and the act of supremacy, and to give them a Democratic House of Commons upon the basis of general suffrage; and when these preliminaries are conceded, in the true spirit of their brethren of France, they will tell us what further concessions they may have to demand.

I fear I have exhausted your Lordships patience, and I have very nearly exhausted my strength. But before I sit down I must very shortly advert to the system of conciliation which the noble Lord has recommended. And first to the system of emancipation; a phrase I must say of equal wickedness and folly when applied to any class of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom. Does the noble Lord know that the whole code of the popery laws enacted since the Revolution has been repealed, and that there is not at this hour a single disability affecting a Papist or Roman Catholic save one, and that is a restric-

tion in the use of fire-arms to men possessed of a freehold of the yearly value of ten pounds, or of a personal estate I think of three hundred pounds in value? a restriction, which I sincerely wish was extended to all his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom without distinction; and therefore when the noble Lord talks of emancipating the people of Ireland, or of restoring them to the benefits of the constitution, he does not speak with all the accuracy which might be expected of him; I know of no word more frequently of use than the Constitution, nor of any which is so often abused. I will state to the noble Lord what my notions are of the British Constitution; and if I am mistaken he will set me right. A Government springs from it which affords equal protection to all his Majesty's subjects in their characters, their lives, their liberties and their property. Will the noble Lord say, that the character, the life, the liberty and the property of a Roman Catholic, have not the same protection from the law in this kingdom, that is extended to every other member of the community?

I take it to be a vital principle of the constitution, that the Church and State are intimately and inseparably united, clinging each to the other for support; and therefore it is, that every subject in these kingdoms is bound by laws coeval with the constitution as now established, before he can be admitted to the exercise of any efficient power ecclesiastical or civil derived under it, to give a solemn and unequivocal pledge of his allegiance to the establishments in Church and State; laws which bind us all indifferently. And therefore, when the modern cant of emancipation is applied to the test laws, it seems to be a distinct avowal by those who use it, that this branch of political reform means nothing short of a revolution. The altar is the main pillar of the throne, and if we shall ever be so mad as to repeal the laws made to guard our ecclesiastical establishment,

blishment, we shall, in my opinion, at the same moment shake to its foundation the British monarchy. Till the æra of modern illumination, it never was supposed that a limited monarchy could exist without test laws; it was supposed that they were essential to maintain the constitutional balance between the different powers of which our Government is composed, to prevent the Crown from committing the judicial and ministerial powers of the State to disaffected persons, and to prevent the people from committing the great and extensive powers exercised by their representatives, to persons of the same description. The founders of the Irish Union had sagacity to see that the first necessary step in their plan of Revolution, was to abolish all religious distinctions in the State; and it baffles all human calculation to discover any sound principle upon which we have heretofore acted, in outstripping them in advances to the attainment of this their favourite object. When the noble Lord adopts the modern system of Emancipation, I wish he would bring the subject forward distinctly, and let us view it in all its bearings: I should thank him to bring forward a detailed and practicable plan of rational Government, under his proposed system of emancipation; that he would first shew us the practicability of repealing the act of supremacy; an act which annexes the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ireland to the imperial crown of England: I should thank him to explain how the repeal of this act is practicable, without the authority of a British statute, authorizing the Keeper of the Great Seal in England to affix it to an act, for making partition of this jurisdiction in Ireland with his Holiness the Pope; and if the two Houses of Parliament in Great Britain shall pass such an act, I shall thank the noble Lord for his solution of another difficulty, and that is, in what manner his Majesty can be enabled to assent to an act giving such an authority to the
Keeper

Keeper of the Great Seal, or to an act repealing the act of supremacy, consistently with the statute limiting the Crown to the House of Hanover, or with the coronation oath? and above all, I shall thank the noble Lord, if his plan of emancipation should take place, to explain his nostrum for maintaining a Protestant Church by a Popish State, and to explain his new system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, to be administered by judges who deny the source of all existing ecclesiastical authority in these kingdoms. If there ever was a subject, which ought to be treated with an anxious and trembling caution, it is this subject of Catholic claim and demand of exemption from the test laws and act of supremacy. But caution and sober deliberation have been contemptuously disclaimed; the people have been told from high popular authority, that they should by no means forego the opportunity of the war in urging their claims; that they should instantly embrace, and greatly emancipate; and that they must extinguish all members of the community who are startled by this magnificent project, or they will be extinguished by them. I might perhaps be excused for speaking with some degree of warmth on this subject, for I was within a hair's breadth of being extinguished, immediately after this sublime lesson of great emancipation and general extinguishment was promulgated.

Upon the subject of emancipation, will the noble Lord allow me to make a very earnest request to him? and if he will indulge me in it, I shall really acknowledge myself deeply indebted to him: will the noble Lord have the goodness on his return to Great Britain, to oblige me, by proposing a repeal of the test laws and the act of supremacy, in the British House of Lords? I am pretty confident the noble Lord will not grant me this request: and he will not grant it, because he knows, that if he were to make such a proposition there, he would soon learn, that it is
treason

treason to the British Constitution. He would there be taught to know that the House of Stewart was expelled the British throne for a similar attempt ; and that any man who should dare to propose such a repeal in the British Parliament, did, by the proposition, condemn the title of the illustrious house of our Monarch to the British throne. If the noble Lord were to talk of repealing the test laws, and the act of supremacy in Great Britain, by way of conciliation, he would be told, that he retailed the fulsome cant of James's memorable declaration for liberty of conscience : and I wish the noble Lord to read that famous proclamation, in which he will find the stale and flimsy pretext of conciliating and uniting men of all religious persuasions, in the support of Government and the Constitution, held out to the people of England by that deluded bigot, to reconcile them to the introduction of Papists into both Houses of Parliament, and into the efficient offices of the state, civil and military.

Upon the second head of the noble Lord's conciliatory project, I shall say but little : the opinions of the noble Lord upon this subject seem to have received a very sudden twist since his last arrival in Ireland. The noble Lord has stated this night, that his opinion recently and publicly delivered upon this subject, was confined altogether to Parliamentary Reform, in Great Britain ; I must therefore conclude, that such was the noble Lord's reservation when he delivered that opinion, although it was delivered without reservation or qualification, in a debate introduced by him exclusively on the subject of Ireland. But as the noble Lord still avows his disapprobation of Parliamentary Reform in Great Britain, as a measure at best doubtful in point of advantage, and imminently hazardous in the probable consequences, let me now put it to him, how infinitely more hazardous and critical will be the experiment in this kingdom ? If the noble Lord will look to the political

tical situation of Great Britain and Ireland, connected under one common Sovereign, each country governed by a Parliament perfectly distinct from and independent of the other, the imperial system for both kingdoms will appear to be the most critical and complicated that has ever subsisted in Europe: to a common observer it would appear to be utterly impracticable: however, experience has proved, that in the midst of popular turbulence, and in the convulsion of rancorous and violent party contests, the Irish Parliament, as it is now constituted, is fully competent to all practical and beneficial purposes of government; that it is fully competent to protect this, which is the weaker country, against encroachment, and to save the empire from dissolution, by maintaining the constitutional connection of Ireland with the British crown. And, therefore, if the noble Lord feels the imminent hazard of innovation in the constitution of Great Britain, how much more cautious ought he to be of making experiments in Ireland, more particularly when they have been first devised for the avowed purpose of destroying the subtle and attractive principles of adhesion, which have heretofore preserved the empire from dissolution. But let me suppose for a moment that the noble Lord's conciliatory system was free from difficulty or objection, will he, as a statesman, seriously recommend to the Irish Parliament to yield to rebellion the claimed redress of speculative political grievances? Will the noble Lord, as a statesman, recommend to us as a measure of sound policy, to repeal our test laws and act of supremacy, and to reform the other House of Parliament, in the hope, by such an act of conciliation and concession, to put down a determined rebellion? If we are to make such a precedent for the encouragement of rebellion, I beg of the noble Lord to say, where we are to draw the line? and if he will not subscribe to my opinion on this subject, I beg to refer him to a Right Hon. Gentleman

tleman in another country of the first ability as a statesman, who, in the year 1783, did most emphatically declare his opinion as a Cabinet-minister, that the existence of legitimate government in Ireland depended on the dispersion of a military convention, then assembled for the reform of Parliament, and on the indignant rejection of any proposition which they might presume to make upon the subject. In that convention I will venture to say there was not a single rebel; there was not a member of it who would not willingly have shed his blood in the defence of his Sovereign and of the constitution. But I did then agree with that Right Hon. Gentleman, that there must be an end of all legitimate government, if political claims are to be advanced at the point of the bayonet; and if I did at that period refuse to listen to a proposition for parliamentary reform, made to the House of Commons by a military convention, composed of very worthy gentlemen, who had been giddily betrayed into such an act of indiscretion, I will not now listen to much more extravagant claims pressed upon me under the terror of impending rebellion. If the conciliatory system recommended by the noble Lord is to be debated on its intrinsic merits, let me advise him to apply to the Directory of the Irish Union in the first instance; let the Directory withdraw their minister plenipotentiary from Paris; let them dissolve their revolutionary Government at home; let them deliver up their cannon and pikes which have heretofore escaped the vigilance of civil and military officers; let them withdraw their emissaries who have been sent forth to seduce the people from their allegiance, and absolve them from the treasonable engagements into which they have been seduced; and let them then submit their claims and their grievances to calm discussion by the Legislature.

I will once more appeal to the noble Lord, and call upon him to wave all vague and general assertions; and

to

to state distinctly the grievance, if it exists, of which the people of Ireland can with justice complain against the British Government, the British Parliament, or the British Nation ; or against the Government or Parliament of their own country. In 1779 they demanded a free trade, and it was granted to them. In 1782 they were called upon to state the measure of their grievances, and the redress which they demanded ; and redress was granted to the full extent of their demands. In 1783 they were dissatisfied with the redress which they had pointed out, and acknowledged to be complete and satisfactory, and it was extended to the terms of their new demand. In 1785 they demanded a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and she made them a fair and liberal offer, which they were pleased to reject with childish folly. In 1789 they demanded a place bill, a pension bill, and a responsibility bill, as necessary to secure the Constitution established in Great Britain and Ireland in 1688, and renewed in Ireland in 1782, which they pledged themselves to support to the last drop of their blood. They had their place bill, and their pension bill, and their responsibility bill, and much more than they had ever demanded upon that score ; for his Majesty was pleased to surrender his hereditary revenue, and to accept a civil establishment for his life, by which Parliament was enabled to make a general appropriation of the revenues, and to limit the Crown in granting pensions ; and his Majesty was also pleased to put the office of Lord Treasurer into commission ; and by these regulations they obtained the same security for the Constitution as established at the Revolution in 1688, which the people of Great Britain enjoy ; and at the time when this security was given to them, the Parliament of Great Britain repealed and explained the British navigation laws, by which we were prohibited from exporting the produce of the British colonies and plantations from this country

to Great Britain; a boon of all others the most essential to our foreign trade, for by it we have the certain issue of the British market for any surplus of plantation goods imported into Ireland above our own consumption. About the same period every disability which had affected Irish Papists was removed, save a restriction in the use of fire-arms, which extends only to the lowest order of the people; and sober and thinking men might reasonably have hoped that the stock of grievances was exhausted, and that they might have been allowed some short respite from popular ferment: In this expectation however we have been deceived, and when every other topic of discontent had failed, the government and constitution, as established at the Revolution, has been discovered by the gentlemen who pledged themselves in 1789 to defend and maintain it to the last drop of their blood, to be a slavish monopoly, inconsistent with the civil and religious liberties of the people. And is the noble Lord so credulous in this instance as to suppose that if this new project should succeed, and the slavish monopoly of the Revolution was abolished, the account of grievances would be closed?—*Uno avulsa non deficit alter, & simili frondescit virga metallo.*

If the noble Lord wishes to know the genuine source of ostensible Irish grievances, he will be enabled to trace it to some of his political friends and connections in Great Britain and Ireland. The genuine source of Irish complaint against the British government is, that they will not second the ambitious views of some gentlemen who claim an exclusive right to guide the public mind, and to monopolize to themselves and their dependants the power and patronage of the Crown. The genuine cause of complaint against the British Cabinet is, that they will not suffer these gentlemen to erect an aristocratic power in Ireland which shall enable them to dictate to the Crown

Crown and the People ; which shall enable them to direct and controul the administration of Great Britain, by making the government of this country impracticable by any but their political friends and allies. Upon what just grounds these arrogant pretensions are advanced, I have not as yet been enabled to discover. I am willing to give the noble Lord full credit for the sincerity of his professions, and to believe that his object is to tranquillize this giddy and distracted country ; and therefore I will take the liberty most earnestly to advise him not to renew the strange exaggerated statements which he has been in the habit of making on Irish affairs in the British House of Lords, where they can have no other effect than mischief. Let me advise him also most earnestly to exert the influence which his high name and character must give him with his political connections in Great Britain, to induce them to confine their political warfare to the theatre of their own country, and to cease to dabble in dirty Irish faction. It is one great misfortune of this country that the people of England know less of it, than they know perhaps of any other nation in Europe. Their impressions I do verily believe to be received from newspapers, published for the sole purpose of deceiving them. There is not so volatile nor so credulous a nation in Europe as the Irish ; the people are naturally well disposed, but are more open to seduction than any man would credit, who had not lived amongst them. If I am to speak without disguise, civilization has not made any considerable progress amongst us, and therefore the kingdom of Ireland is, of all the nations of Europe, the most dangerous to tamper with, or to make experiments upon. Her present disturbed and distracted state has certainly been the consequence of a series of experiments practised upon her for a course of years. If the gentlemen of Ireland who have a permanent interest in the safety of the State, could
be

be prevailed upon to adjourn their political quarrels and resentments to a period when they might be renewed, without endangering every thing which is worth preserving in society, and to unite against the common enemy, I should feel no manner of apprehension for the event of the contest in which we are engaged, with foreign and domestic enemies. But whilst we are divided, and men of rank and character are found ready to hazard every thing for the possible success of little paltry personal objects, the crisis becomes awful indeed. If Ireland is to be tranquillized, the first step towards it must be, to crush rebellion. No lenity will appease the factious rancour of modern Irish reformers, nor will any measure of conciliation satisfy them short of a pure democracy, established by the influence, and guaranteed by the power of the French Republic.

LORD MOIRA having in his reply stated, that he did not wonder the people of Ireland should wish for Parliamentary Reform, when an official declaration had been made in the House of Commons, that half a million must be expended to put down the opposition; the CHANCELLOR, in answer to this observation, thanked his Lordship for having afforded him an opportunity of publicly refuting a calumny which had been propagated with uncommon industry. The Chancellor stated, that in the session of 1789, during the indisposition of his Majesty, when a debate arose upon a vote of censure moved against Lord Buckingham, because he declined to transmit an Address to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, an observation was made in the House of Commons, by some other gentleman, that a censure had some years before been voted against Lord Townshend, and that in the same Parliament, a flattering Address had been also voted to him. The
Chancellor

Chancellor said, that in adverting to this observation in the course of the debate, he stated simply, that he had heard that Address, in all its consequences, cost the Irish nation half a million ; and the story which has been built on this naked observation, on a statement made in debate by another gentleman, is, that he had, in defending new offices created by Lord Buckingham, justified the expenditure of half a million in putting down the opposition in the House of Commons : he said, he was not surprised that Lord Moira had been imposed upon by this impudent falsehood ; but that two plain facts were sufficient for its detection : one is, that the new offices complained of, were not created until after he [the Chancellor] had ceased to be a member of the House of Commons ; and the subject never was debated in the House of Lords. The other fact he stated to be, that when he made the observation, he voted in a small and virtuous minority in the House of Commons, when, so far from his speaking officially, it was generally understood, that he was to go out of office on the change of Administration, which was expected immediately to take place, so much so, that his successor was publicly named. As to the transactions in Lord Townshend's time, he could have spoken of them merely from report, as, at the time they took place, he was at the University of Oxford.

APPENDIX,

A P P E N D I X,

Containing Original Papers, referred to in the foregoing Speech.

Die Jovis, 7° Martii, 1793°.

The Lord Chancellor from the Lords' Committee appointed to enquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevail in several parts of this kingdom, to endeavour to discover the promoters of them, to prevent their extension, and to report the result of their enquiries to the House, made the following Report; viz.

MY LORDS!

THE Committee appointed to enquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevail in several parts of this kingdom, to endeavour to discover the promoters of them, to prevent their extension, and to report the result of their enquiries to the House, have examined into the matters to them referred as far as the time would permit; but apprehending that delay may be attended with danger in the present circumstances of the times, they think it their duty to lay before the House immediately such information as they conceive to be material for the present, which is as follows:

The people at this time called Defenders, are very different from those who originally assumed that appellation, and are all, as far as the Committee could discover, of the Roman Catholic persuasion; in general, poor, ignorant, labouring men, sworn to secrecy, and impressed with an opinion that they are assisting the Catholic cause; in other respects they do not appear to have any distinct particular object in view, but they talk of being relieved from hearth-money, tithes, county cesses, and of lowering their rents. They first appeared in the county of *Louth*, in considerable bodies in *April* last, several of them were armed, they assembled mostly in the night, and forced into the houses of Protestants, and took from them their arms. The disorders soon spread through

APPENDIX.

through the counties of *Meath, Cavan, Monaghan*, and other parts adjacent ; at first they took nothing but arms, but afterwards they plundered the houses of every thing they could find. Their measures appear to have been concerted and conducted with the utmost secrecy, and a degree of regularity and system, not usual in people in such mean condition, and as if directed by men of a superior rank. Sums of money, to a considerable amount, have been levied and still continue to be levied upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the kingdom, by subscriptions and collections at their Chapels and elsewhere ; some of which levies have been made, and still continue to be made under the authority of a printed circular letter which has been sent into all parts of the kingdom ; a copy of which letter we think it our duty to insert herein.

“ SIR,

“ By an order of the Sub-Committee, dated the fifteenth of *January*, I had the honour to forward you a plan for a general subscription, which had for its object the raising a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expences incurred by the General Committee, in conducting the affairs of the Catholics of *Ireland* ; as several mistakes have occurred in the transmission of these letters, owing to my ignorance of the address of many of the delegates, I am directed to inform you, that such a plan is now in forwardness throughout the kingdom. A measure so strongly enforced by necessity, and so consonant to justice, cannot fail to attract your very serious attention, the Committee having the most perfect reliance on your zeal, are therefore confident that you will use your best exertions to carry this necessary business into full effect.

“ *Dublin, February 5th, 1793.*

Signed by the
Secretary of the Sub-Committee.

“ P. S. It is hoped that you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter, stating at the same time whatever progress has been made in your district.”

Several seditious and inflammatory papers published in *Dublin*, and dispersed through the country, seem to have countenanced and encouraged the Defenders in their proceedings ; and it appears that letters were written by a member of the committee of the Roman Catholics at *Dublin*, previous to the last Summer assizes, to a person resident at *Dundalk*, in one of which the said person in the name of the said Roman Catholic Committee, directed enquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the Defenders then in confinement were accused, which enquiries will be best explained by inserting the said letter in the words following :

“ DEAR

A P P E N D I X.

“ DEAR SIR,

Dublin, 9th August, 1792.

“ I received this day your favour of the 8th instant, enclosing
 “ the different papers respecting the business I wrote you. It is
 “ with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that from the
 “ want of information on the subject matter of the indictments,
 “ no precise opinion can be formed whether the alledged offence
 “ is or is not bailable; the Committee are consequently in the
 “ dark as to the measures that should be adopted, nor can your
 “ exertions accelerate (as it seems) that period until the assizes,
 “ when you will be able to obtain office copies of the examina-
 “ tions. Mr. *Nugent*'s brother left town this day truly discon-
 “ solate, in not being able to effect something towards the libe-
 “ ration of his kinsman; he however did his best in the affair.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your obedient Servant,

“ *John Sweetman.*”

“ P. S. If any new occurrence should happen, be good
 “ enough to inform me of it.”

And it does appear that the said person to whom the said letter was addressed at *Dundalk*, did employ, at a considerable expence, an agent and counsel to act for several persons who were accused of being Defenders, and were indicted for offences committed by them in the county of *Louth*; one of which offenders appears to be particularly named in the above letter. But the committee think it their duty to state, that nothing appeared before them which could lead them to believe, that the body of the Roman Catholics in this kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing such disturbances, or that they were privy to this application of any part of the money which had been levied upon them; however suspicious the conduct of ill-disposed individuals of their persuasions, resident in *Dublin*, may have been. If all the magistrates in the disturbed counties had followed the spirited example of the few, who, much to their honour, exerted themselves with vigour and courage to support the laws; the committee are persuaded that these disturbances might have been suppressed: but instead of doing so, much the greater part of them remained inactive. The committee are of opinion, that the best means of restoring permanent tranquillity in the disturbed counties, would be to procure a sufficient number of active, resolute and steady magistrates therein, who would exert themselves to maintain the public peace, and to cut off from these deluded people, all hope or expectation of support or defence, arising from a common fund to be levied upon persons of their communion.

An unusual ferment has for some months past disturbed several parts of the north, particularly the town of *Belfast* and the county
 of

A P P E N D I X.

of *Antrim* ; it is kept up and encouraged by seditious papers and pamphlets of the most dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconsiderable rates in *Dublin* and *Belfast*, which issue almost daily from certain societies of men or clubs, in both those places, calling themselves committees under various descriptions, and carrying on a constant correspondence with each other. These publications are circulated amongst the people with the utmost industry, and appear to be calculated to defame the Government and Parliament, and to render the people dissatisfied with their condition and with the laws. The conduct of the French is shamefully extolled, and recommended to the public view as an example for imitation ; hopes and expectations have been held up of their assistance by a descent upon this kingdom ; and prayers have been offered up at *Belfast* from the pulpit, for the success of their arms, in the presence of military associations which have been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men associated themselves in *Dublin* under the title of the first national battalion, their uniform copied from the French, green turned up with white, white waistcoat and striped trowsers, gilt buttons impressed with a harp and letters importing “ First National Battalion,” no Crown, but a device over the harp, of a cap of Liberty upon a pike ; two pattern coats were left at two shops in Dublin. Several bodies of men have been collected in different parts of the North, armed and disciplined under officers chosen by themselves, and composed mostly of the lowest classes of the people. These bodies are daily encreasing in numbers and force ; they have exerted their best endeavours to procure military men of experience to act as their officers ; some of them having expressly stated that there were men enough to be had, but that officers were what they wanted. Stands of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above the common consumption, have been sent within these few months past to *Belfast* and *Newry* ; and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appears could be wanted only for military operations. At *Belfast*, bodies of men in arms are drilled and exercised for several hours almost every night by candle-light, and attempts have been made to seduce the soldiery, which, much to the honour of the King’s forces, have proved ineffectual. The declared object of these military bodies is to procure a reform of Parliament, but the obvious intention of most of them appears to be to overawe the Parliament and the Government, and to dictate to both. The Committee forbear mentioning the names of several persons, lest it should in any manner affect any criminal prosecution, or involve the personal safety of any man who has come forward to give them information. The result of their enquiries, is, that in their opinion it

A P P E N D I X.

is incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity of this kingdom, to permit bodies of men in arms to assemble when they please, without any legal authority; and that the existence of a self-created representative body of any description of the King's subjects, taking upon itself the government of them, and levying taxes or subscriptions, to be applied at the discretion of such representative body, or of persons deputed by them, is also incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity.

To which the House agreed.

Dublin Castle, 3d March, 1797.

SIR,

I am commanded by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, that from the information received by his Excellency with respect to various parts of the North of Ireland, additional measures to those hitherto employed for preserving the public peace are become necessary. It appears that in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry and Donegal, secret and treasonable associations still continue to an alarming degree, and that the persons concerned in these associations are attempting to defeat all the exertions of the loyal and well disposed, by the means of terror; that they threaten the lives of all who shall venture, from regard to their duty and oath of allegiance, to discover their treasons; that they assemble in great numbers by night; and by threats and force disarm the peaceable inhabitants; that they have fired on his Majesty's justices of the peace when endeavouring to apprehend them in their nocturnal robberies; that they threaten by papers, letters, and notices, the persons of those who shall in any manner resist or oppose them; that in their nightly excursions for the purpose of disarming his Majesty's loyal subjects, they disguise their persons and countenances; that they endeavour to collect great quantities of arms in concealed hiding places; that they have cut down great numbers of trees on the estates of the gentry, for the purpose of making pikes; that they have stolen great quantities of lead for the purpose of casting bullets; that they privately by night exercise themselves in the practice of arms; that they endeavour to intimidate persons from joining the yeomanry corps established by law, in order to resist a foreign enemy; that they refuse to employ in manufactures those who enlist in the said corps; that they not only threaten but ill treat the persons of the yeomanry, and even attack their houses by night, and proceed to the barbarous extremity of deliberate and shocking murder, as was exemplified in their recent attack, and
murder

A P P E N D I X.

murder by night, of Mr. Comyns of Newtownards, and that they profess a resolution to assist the enemies of his Majesty, if they should be enabled to land in this kingdom.

It further appears, that these disturbances and outrages exist and even increase, as well in the districts which have been proclaimed, as in other parts of the country.

In order therefore to reduce the persons engaged in the aforesaid treasonable associations, and guilty of the said atrocious outrages, to subordination to the laws, and to give confidence to the well disposed among his Majesty's subjects, and security to their properties and their lives, and to prevent any assistance being given to the enemy by the disloyal and disaffected; his Excellency has commanded me to communicate to you his positive orders, that you take the most immediate and decisive measures for disposing of the military force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately disarming all persons who shall not bear his Majesty's commission, or are acting under persons so commissioned, or persons holding commissions under the authority of the yeomanry act, or persons acting under officers so commissioned; and after making such disposition, you are required to carry such disarming into effect.

His Excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your discretion the greatest latitude, relying at the same time on your prudence and discernment in the exercise of it, so that the peaceable and well affected may be protected against the evil designs of those who have threatened their lives and property with destruction.

His Excellency further authorizes you to employ force against any persons assembled in arms, not legally authorized so to be, to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm or the safety of his Majesty's faithful subjects may be endangered by waiting for such authority.

His Excellency further authorizes you to consider those parts of the country where the outrages before stated have been committed, or where they shall arise, as being in a state that requires all the measures of exertion and precaution which a country depending upon military force alone for its protection would require; and you are therefore required, to station your troops with a view to interrupt communication between those whom you may have reason to suspect of evil designs; to establish patrols on the high roads or other passes, and to stop all persons passing and repassing after certain hours of the night; and in order completely to carry into effect any orders or regulations, which in the circumstances of the case may be considered by you as necessary,

A P P E N D I X.

fary, you are authorized to issue notices, stating the regulations, and calling upon his Majesty's subjects to be aiding and assisting therein.

I have the honour to be, &c.

To Lieut. Gen. Leake.

THOMAS PELHAM.

Dublin Castle, 18th May, 1797.

MY LORD,

The Lord Lieutenant and Council having judged it expedient to call upon his Majesty's troops to exert their utmost force to suppress a seditious and traitorous conspiracy of persons styling themselves United Irishmen, I am commanded by his Excellency to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the proclamation issued on this subject, and to desire that your Lordship will issue the necessary orders to the troops under your command in consequence thereof. His Excellency has directed me to represent to your Lordship, that as the traitorous and treasonable designs of these conspirators extend to the subversion of the constitution and government, it will be necessary to take measures of general precaution, so that the troops may be prepared to act, whenever it becomes necessary to have recourse to their exertions. In those parts of the kingdom where these designs have been manifested by acts of open violence, it will be necessary to give the officers of his Majesty's troops more precise directions for their conduct. In such parts of the kingdom as have been disturbed by nocturnal depredations, where the lives of his Majesty's loyal subjects have been endangered by persons collected in arms, attacking and firing upon their houses, and where assemblies of persons have been collected for the purpose of unlawfully cutting down trees, or perpetrating other acts of outrage, military precaution should be adopted for the security of the lives and property of his Majesty's loyal subjects, and opposing by the most effectual means such daring acts of violence.

Diligent enquiry should be made respecting any concealed arms or ammunition, and for pikes, and pike handles, and upon information thereof, officers commanding parties should be directed to search for and seize the same.

Any persons armed with pikes or other weapons, in resistance of his Majesty's troops, are to be considered as rebels and treated accordingly. All persons exercising themselves in the use of arms, under persons not holding his Majesty or the Lord Lieutenant's commission, are to be disarmed and apprehended; and in case of resistance to be treated as rebels, and as it appears to be a part of the system of these conspirators to take the opportunity of
funerals

A P P E N D I X.

funerals and other occasions to assemble considerable numbers of persons, the officers of his Majesty's army should be directed in pursuance of this proclamation, to watch all such assemblies, and if from their number or other circumstances the public peace should appear to be endangered, they will disperse them; and as various attempts have been made to seduce his Majesty's troops from their duty and allegiance, you will direct all persons of suspicious appearance, who shall come within the lines of any encampment, barrack, or other stations of his Majesty's troops, to be detained.

And his Excellency further desires that your Lordship will, from time to time, communicate such instructions to the officers of his Majesty's troops, as you shall deem best adapted, for carrying into effect his Excellency's proclamation, and as local exigencies may demand.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
humble Servant,

THOMAS PELHAM.

To Earl Carhampton, Commander in Chief.

In obedience to the order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, it is the Commander in Chief's commands, that the military do act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, in dispersing any tumultuous unlawful assemblies of persons, threatening the peace of the realm and the safety of the lives and properties of his Majesty's loyal subjects, wheresoever collected.

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF
IRELAND, PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS OF
FEBRUARY 17, 1798.

“ TRUST them not; remember what they promised when Dungannon had alarmed them, *and how well they performed* the assurance they gave. The same promises they are again ready to make you, that they may throw the nation off its guard, and reduce you to your former situation. It is not *your* safety that they are consulting, but *their own*. Not three weeks since, one of our masters declared, that *reform* “ was the watch-word of treason;” with *the watch-word of treason* then, *they* come forth, and effect to better *your* condition. Thus by their own rule, they become *traitors themselves*; and of all traitors, those are the worst who would cajole those whom they cannot force, by duping
them

APPENDIX.

them to their own designs. While they thought you disunited, and unable to resist tyranny, they reviled and insulted you; they provoked your patience, with every indignity and every violence; they dared you to oppose their criminal career, and even *wished* to try their force with yours. Such it seems is their *love* of you; but at the name of *THE GREAT NATION*, they sink into their own worthlessness: already they hear its thunders breaking on their heads, and see its armies pouring destruction on them. While those thunders rolled at a distance, they despised the noise, for men are apt to be brave when they apprehend no danger; but as the sound approaches, their dread encreases with its nearness; and appalled at the power they had so often defied, they lower the loftiness of their air, and assume the tones of moderation.

“ Well may they dread their enemies, for they know the extent of their enormous guilt, and the magnitude of their great offence! But their intended offer to conciliate proves two things; first, their consciousness of *your* strength, and *their own* imbecility; and secondly, (although it is a fact they have long been in the habit of denying) that all power originates with the *people*, to whom at last those that exercise it are compelled to resort.”

[It has been judged proper to reprint the following original Professions of the association of United Irishmen, which was privately circulated by the first founders of that Society in the month of June 1791. Whoever reads this with attention will require no farther proof that the deepest and most systematic Treason, not only against the Constitution of this country, but against the whole Order of Society in every country, was the grand object of that Fraternity from the first moment of its being conceived.—It will be seen, that every aid which infernal ingenuity could furnish for working on the passions of the weak, the ignorant, and the depraved, was deliberately adopted—that even in this embryo state the design rises to a height of revolutionary boldness hardly equalled by the German Illuminati themselves, and that all the horrible events which have since taken place in this country are nothing more than the practical developement of this original project.]

IDEM SENTIRE, DICERE, AGERE.

IT is proposed that at this conjuncture a SOCIETY shall be instituted in this city, having much of the secrecy, and somewhat of the ceremonial attached to Free Masonry—with so much secrecy as may communicate curiosity, uncertainty and expectation

to

APPENDIX.

to the minds of surrounding men ;—with so much impressive and affecting ceremony in all its internal œconomy, as, without impeding real business, may strike the soul through the senses, and addressing the *whole* man, may animate his philosophy by the energy of his passions.

Secrecy is expedient and necessary ; it will make the bond of union more cohesive, and the spirit of this union more ardent and more condensed ; it will envelope this dense flame with a cloud of gloomy ambiguity, that will not only facilitate its own agency, but will at the same time confound and terrify its enemies by their ignorance of the design, the extent, the direction, or the consequences. It will throw a veil over those individuals whose professional prudence might make them wish to lye concealed, until a manifestation of themselves became absolutely necessary. And, lastly, secrecy is necessary, because it is by no means certain that a country, so great a stranger to itself as Ireland, where the North and the South, and the East and West, meet to wonder at each other, is yet *prepared* for the adoption of one profession of Political Faith, while there may be individuals from each of these quarters ready to adopt such a profession, and to propagate it with their best abilities, when necessary—with their blood.

Our Provinces are perfectly ignorant of each other ;—our Island is connected ;—we ourselves are insulated ; and the distinctions of rank, of property, and of religious persuasion, have hitherto been not merely lines of difference, but brazen walls of separation. We are separate nations met and settled together, not mingled, but *convened* ; an incoherent mass of dissimilar materials, uncemented, unconsolidated, like the image which Nebuchadnezzar saw with a head of fine gold, legs of iron, and feet of clay, parts that do not cleave to one another.

In the midst of an island, where Manhood has met and continues to meet with such severe humiliation, where selfish men, or classes of men, have formed such malignant conspiracy against Public Good, let one benevolent, beneficent conspiracy arise, one Plot of Patriots pledged by solemn abjuration to each other in the service of the People—the *PEOPLE*, in the largest sense of that momentous word. Let the cement of this Constitutional Compact be a principle of such strong attraction, as completely to overpower all accidental and temporary repulsions that take place between real Irishmen, and thus to consolidate the scattered and shifting sand of Society into an adhesive and immovable Caïsson, sunk beneath the dark and troubled waters. It is by wandering from the few plain and simple principles of Political Faith that our Politics, like our Religion, has become Preaching, not Practice, Words, not Works.

A Society,

A P P E N D I X.

A Society, such as this, will disclaim those party appellations which seem to pale the human heart into petty compartments, and parcel out into Sects and Sections, Common Sense, Common Honesty, and Common Weal. As little will it affect any speculative, unimpassioned, quiescent benevolence. It will not call itself a Whig Club, or a Revolution Society. It will not ground itself on a name indicative of a party, or an event well enough in the circumstances and in the season. It will not be an Aristocracy affecting the language of Patriotism, the rival of Despotism, for its own sake, not its irreconcilable enemy, for the sake of *us all*.

It will not, by views merely retrospective, stop the march of mankind, or force them back into the lanes and alleys of their ancestors. It will have an eye provident and prospective, a reach and amplitude of conception commensurate to the progressive diffusion of knowledge, and at the same time a promptitude in execution requisite in a life like this, so short and so fragile, in a nation like this, so passive and procrastinating. Let its name be the *IRISH BROTHERHOOD*. Let its general aim be to make the light of philanthropy, a pale and ineffectual light, *converge*, and by converging kindle into ardent, energetic, enthusiastic love for Ireland; that genuine unadulterated enthusiasm which descends from a luminous head to a burning heart, and impels the spirit of man to exertions greatly good, or unequivocally great. For this Society is not to rest satisfied in drawing speculative plans of reform and improvement, but to be practically busied about the *means* of accomplishment. Were the hand of Locke to hold from Heaven, a scheme of government most perfectly adapted to the nature and capabilities of the Irish Nation, it would drop to the ground a mere sounding scroll, were there no other means of giving it effect than its intrinsic excellence. All true Irishmen agree in *what* ought to be done, but how to get it done is the question.—This Society is likely to be a means the most powerful for the promotion of a great end—what END?

THE RIGHTS OF MEN IN IRELAND, the greatest happiness of the greatest number in *this island*, the inherent and indefeasible claims of every free nation, to rest in this nation—the *will* and the *power* to be happy—to pursue the Commonweal as an individual pursues his private welfare, and to stand in insulated independence, an imperial People.—To gain a knowledge of the real state of this heterogeneous country, to form a summary of the national will and pleasure in points most interesting to national happiness, and when such a summary is formed, to put this *Doctrine* as speedily as may be into *Practice*, will be the purpose of this Central Society, or Lodge, from which other Lodges in the different towns will radiate.

THE GREATEST HAPPINESS OF THE GREATEST NUMBER—On the rock of this principle let this Society rest; by this let it judge
and

A P P E N D I X.

and determine every political question, and whatever is necessary for this end, let it not be accounted hazardous, but rather our interest, our duty, our glory, and our common religion. The Rights of Men are the Rights of God, and to vindicate the one is to maintain the other. We must be free, in order to serve Him, whose service is perfect freedom.

Let every Member wear, day and night, an Amulet round his neck, containing the great principle which unites the Brotherhood, in letters of gold, on a ribbon, striped with all the original colours, and inclosed in a sheath of white silk, to represent the pure union of the mingled rays, and the abolition of all superficial distinctions, all colours and shades of difference, for the sake of one illustrious end. Let this Amulet of union, faith and honour, depend from the neck, and be bound about the body next to the skin and close to the heart.

This is enthusiasm.—It is so; and who that has a spark of Hibernicism in his nature, would not kindle into a flame of generous enthusiasm? Who, that has a drop of sympathy in his heart, when he looks around him, and sees how happiness is heaped up in mounds, and how misery is diffused and divided among the million, does not exclaim, Alas! for the suffering, and Oh! for the power to redress it? And who is there that has enthusiasm sufficient to make an exclamation, would not combine with others as honest as himself, to make the will live in the act, and to swear—*WE WILL REDRESS IT*—Who is there? Who?

The first business of the Brotherhood will be to form a transcript, or digest, of the doctrine which they mean to subscribe, to uphold, to propagate, and reduce to practice. It is time for Ireland to look her fortune in the face, not with turbulent ostentation, but with fixed resolution to live and die Freeman.—Let then those questions be agitated and answered fully and fairly, which have been wilfully concealed from us by interested persons and parties, and which appear terrible only by being kept in the dark. Always armed with this principle, that it is the duty of the people to establish their rights, this Society will carry it along with them in their course, as the Sybil did the branch of gold, to avert or to disperse, every vain fear, or every unreal terror.

What are the *means* of procuring such a Reform in the Constitution as may secure to the People their rights most effectually and most speedily?

What is the plan of Reform most suited to this country?

Can the renovation in the Constitution, which we all deem necessary, be accomplished by the *ways* of the Constitution? “The evil,” says Junius, “lies too deep to be cured by any remedy, less than some great convulsion which may bring back the Constitution to its original principles, or utterly destroy it.”

A P P E N D I X.

Is this opinion still truer when applied to *this* country? or is it false?

Who are the People?

Can the right of changing the Constitution rest any where but in the original constitutive power—the People?

Can the will of the People be known but by full and fair convention, to be constituted on the plan which will come recommended on the most popular authority?

What are the rights of Roman Catholics, and what are the immediate duties of Protestants respecting these rights?

Are the Roman Catholics generally or partially *capaces Libertatis*? and if not, What are the speediest means of making them so?

Is the Independence of Ireland nominal or real, a barren right, or a fact regulative of national conduct and influencing national character?

Has it had any other effect than raising the value of a house, and making it more self-sufficient, at the expence of the People?

Is there any middle state between the extremes of union with Britain and total separation, in which the rights of the People can be fully established and rest in security?

What is the form of Government that will secure to us our rights with the least expence and the greatest benefit?

By the BROTHERHOOD are these questions, and such as these, to be determined. On this determination are they to form the chart of their Constitution, which with honour and good faith they are to subscribe, and which is to regulate their course.—

Let the Society at large meet four times in the year, and an acting Committee once a month, to which all Members shall be invited. Let these meetings be *convivial*, but not the transitory patriotism of deep potation; *confidential*, the heart open and the door locked; *conversational*, not a debating society. There is too much haranguing in this country already: a very great redundancy of sound. Would that we spoke a little more laconically, and acted a little more emphatically; and we shall do so, when our aim is at something nobler and fairer than even the Sublime and Beautiful of Mr. Burke:—the Sublimity of Common-sense—the Beauty of Common-weal.

Our Society should at first be very chaste and cautious in the selection of Members, shunning equally the giddiness of the boy, and that sullen indifference about the public good which comes on with decline of years, looking around for those who are competent, and with respect to themselves content, yet zealous and persevering; not venal, not voracious, not confined in their manners and their morality to the pale of a profession; not idle philanthropists, who sidget round the globe with their favourite adage;

not

A P P E N D I X.

not those who are bound down by obedience to that wizard word *Empire*, to the sovereignty of two sounding syllables; but honest, honourable *Irishmen*, of whatever rank, of whatever religion, who know Liberty, who love it, who wish to have it, and who will have it.—Members should be admitted only by an unanimous ballot, and perhaps once a year there should be a general re-election.

The *external* business of this Society will be, 1st. Publication, in order to propagate their principles and effectuate their ends. All papers for this purpose to be sanctioned by the Committee, and published with no other designation of character than—**ONE OF THE BROTHERHOOD**.—2dly, Communication with the different towns to be assiduously kept up, and every exertion used to accomplish a *National Convention* of the People of Ireland, who may profit by past errors, and by many unexpected circumstances which have happened since the last meeting.—3dly, Communication with similar Societies abroad, as the Jacobin Club in Paris, the Revolution Society in England, the Committee for Reform in Scotland. Let the nations go abreast. Let the interchange of sentiment among mankind concerning the rights of man be as immediate as possible. A correspondence with distinguished men in Britain, or on the Continent, will be necessary to enlighten us, and ought to be cherished. Eulogies on such men as have deserved well of their country *until death*, should be from time to time delivered by one of the Brotherhood; their works should live in a library to be formed by this Society, and dedicated to Liberty, and the Portraits of such men should adorn it. Let the shades of the mighty dead look down and consecrate our Meetings! The Athenians were accustomed to fasten their edicts to the statues of their ancestors. Let our Laws and Liberties have a similar attachment, taking heed always to remember what has been always too much forgotten—that *We* are to be ancestors ourselves; and as our bodies moulder down after sepulture, merely to pass into new forms of life, let our spirits preserve a principle of animation to posterity, and germinate from the very grave.

What is the time most applicable for the establishment of this Institution? Even NOW. “Le grand art est dans l’apropos.” Why is Administration so imperious? Because the Nation does not act. The Whig Club is not a transfusion from the People. We do not thoroughly *understand* that Club, and they do not *feel* for us. When the Aristocracy come forward, the People fall backward; when the People come forward, the Aristocracy, fearful of being left behind, insinuate themselves into our ranks, and rise into timid leaders, or treacherous auxiliaries. They mean to make us their instruments. Let us rather make them *our* instruments. One of the two must happen. The People must serve the purposes of Party, or the Party must emerge in the mightiness of the People, and Hercules will then lean upon his club.

On

A P P E N D I X.

On the 14th of July, the day which shall ever commemorate the French Revolution, let this Society pour out their first libation to European Liberty, eventually the Liberty of the World, and with their hands joined in each other, and their eyes raised to Heaven, in his presence who breathed into them an ever-living soul, let them swear to maintain the rights and prerogatives of their nature as men, and the right and prerogative of Ireland as an Independent People.—“*Dieu et mon Droit!*” is the motto of Kings.—“*Dieu et la Liberté!*” exclaimed Voltaire, when he first beheld Franklin, his Fellow-Citizen of the World.—“*Dieu et nos Droits!*”—Let Irishmen cry aloud to each other—The cry of Mercy—of Justice—and of Victory.

June, 1791.



F I N I S.

